HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM

The EARLIEST TIMES to the DEATH of GEORGE II.

By Dr. GOLDSMITH.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

DUBLIN:

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. XXIV.

E D W A R D VI.

TENRY the eighth was succeeded on the throne by his only fon Edward the fixth, now in the ninth year of his age. The late king in his will, which he expected would be absolutely obeyed, fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of his eighteenth year; and in the mean time appointed fixteen executors of his will, to whom, during the minority, he intrusted the government of the king and kingdom. But the vanity of his aims was foon discovered; for the first act of the executors was to choose the earl of Hertford, who was afterwards made duke of Somerset, as protector of the realm, and in him was lodged all the regal power, together with a privilege of naming whom he would for his privy council.

This was a favourable season for those of the reformed religion; and the eyes of the late king were no sooner closed, than all of that persuasion congratulated themselves on the event. They no longer suppressed their sentiments, but main-

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tained their doctrines openly, in preaching and teaching, even while the laws against them continued in full force. The protector had long been regarded as the fecret partizan of the reformers; and, being now freed from restraint, he scrupled not to express his intention of correcting all the abuses of the ancient religion, and of adopting still more the doctrines propagated by Luther. His power was not a little frengthened by his fuccels against an incursion of the Scotch, in which about eight hundred of their army were flain; and the popularity which he gained upon this occasion, feconded his views in the further propagation of the new doctrines. But the character of Somerfet did not stand in need of the mean supports of popularity acquired in this manner, as he was naturally humble, civil, affable, and courteous to the meanest suitor, while all his actions were directed by motives of piety and honour.

The protector, in his schemes for advancing the reformation, had always recourse to the counfels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse to violent changes, and determined to bring over the people by infenfible innovations to his own peculiar fystem. The person who opposed with the greatest authority any farther advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who, though he had not obtained a place at the council board, yet from his age, experience, and capacity, was regarded by most men with some degree of veneration. Upon a general visitation of the church. which had been commanded by the primate and protector, Gardiner defended the use of images, which was now very openly attacked by the pro-1. stants; he even wrote an apology for holy water; but he particularly alledged, that it was unlawful to make any change in religion during the king's

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minority. This opposition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council; and he was fent to the Fleet prison, where he was used with

much harshness and severity.

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These internal regulations were in some measure retarded by the war with Scotland, which still continued to rage with some violence. But a defeat, which that nation suffered at Musselborough, in which above ten thousand perished in the field of battle, induced them to sue for peace, in order to gain time; and the protector returned to fettle the business of the reformation, which was as yet only begun. But, though he acquired great popularity by this expedition; he did not fail to attract the envy of feveral noblemen, by procuring a patent from the young king his nephew, to fit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, and to enjoy the same honours and privileges which had usually been granted the uncles of kings in Eng-However, he still drove on his favourite schemes of reformation, and gave more confistency to the tenets of the church. The cup was reftored to the laity in the facrament of the Lord's supper; private masses were abolished; the king: was empowered to create bishops by letters patent. Vagabonds were adjudged to be flaves for two years, and to be marked with a red hot iron; an act commonly supposed to be levelled against the strolling priests and friars. It was enacted also, that all who denied the king's supremacy, or afferted the pope's, should, for the first offence, forfeit their goods and chattles, and fuffer imprisonment during pleasure; for the second offence, they were to incur the pain of premunire; and for the third offence, to be attainted of treason. Orders were soon after issued by the council that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas day, ashes on Ash Wednesday, or palms on Palm Sunday. These A 3

were ancient superstitious practices, which led to immoralities that it was thought proper to restrain. An order also was issued for the removal of all images from the churches, an innovation which was much defired by the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almost to a change of the established religion. The people had for some time been extremely distracted by the opposite opinions of their preachers; and as they were totally incapable of judging the arguments advanced on either fide, and naturally regarded every thing they heard at church, as of the greatest authority, much confusion and fluctuation refulted from this uncertainty. The council first endeavoured to remove the inconvenience by laying some restraints upon preaching; but finding this expedient fail, they imposed a total filence upon preachers, which, however, was removed by degrees, in proportion as the reformation gained ground among the people.

But these innovations, evidently calculated for the good of the people, were not brought about without some struggles at home, while the protector was but too bufily employed against the Scotch, who, united with, and feconded by France, still pushed on their inroads with unremitting animofity. Betides, there was still an enemy that he had yet to fear more than any of the former; and this was his own brother, lord Thomas Seymour, the admiral, a man of uncommon talents, but proud turbulent, and untractable. This nobleman could not endure the diffinction which the king had always made between him and his elder brother; fo that they divided the whole court and the kingdom by their opposite cabals and pretensions. his flattery and address, he had so infinuated himfelf into the good graces of the queen dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and decency,

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the married him immediately upon the decease of the late king. This match was particularly difpleasing to the elder brother's wife, who now faw that while her husband had the precedency in one place, she was obliged to yield it in another. His next step was to cabal and make a party among the nobility, who, as they hated his brother, fomented his ambition. He then bribed the king's domestics to his interest; and young Edward frequently went to his house, on pretence of visiting the queen. There he ingratiated himself with his fovereign by the most officious assiduities, particularly by supplying him with money to distribute among his fervants and favourites, without the knowledge of his governor. In the protector's absence with the army in Scotland, he made it his business to redouble all his arts and infinuations; and thus obtained a new patent for admiral, with an additional appointment. Sir William Paget perceiving the progress he daily made in the king's affection, wrote to the protector on the subject, who finished the campaign in Scotland with all posfible dispatch, that he might return in time to counter-work his machinations. But before he could arrive in England, the admiral had engaged in his party several of the principal nobility, and had even prevailed on the king himself to write a letter to the two houses of parliament with his own hand, defiring that the admiral might be appointed his governor; but the council being apprifed of his schemes, sent deputies to assure him, that if he did not defift they would deprive him of his office, fend him prisoner to the Tower, and prosecute him on the last act of parliament, by which he was subject to the penalty of high treason, for attempting to disturb the peace of the government. It was not without some severe struggles within himself, and fome menaces divulged among his creatures, A 4

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him of all his private transactions.

But it was not in the power of persuasions or menaces to shake the adm ral's unalterable views of ambition. His spouse, the queen dowager, had died in child-bed; and this accident, far from repressing his schemes, only seemed to promote them. He made his addresses to the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards so revered by the English; and it is faid that the liftened to his infinuations, contrary to the will of her father, who had excluded her the fuccession, in case she married without the consent of council. The admiral, however, it is supposed, had projects of getting over that objection; and his professions seemed to give reason to believe that he intended aiming at regal authority. By promifes and persuasions he brought over many of the principal nobility to his party; he neglected not even the most popular persons of inferior rank; and he computed that he could, on occasion, command the service of ten thousand men among his fervants, tenants, and retainers. He had already provided arms for their use; and having engaged in his interests Sir John Sharrington, master of the mint at Bristol, a very corrupt man, he flattered himself that money would not be wanting.

Somerset being well ascertained of all these alarming circumstances, endeavoured by every expedient that his power or his near connection could suggest, to draw him from his designs. He reasoned, he threatened, he heaped new savours upon him; but all to no purpose. At last he resolved to make use of the last dreadful remedy, and to attaint his own brother of high treason. In consequence

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consequence of this resolution, and secretly advised to it by Dudley, earl of Warwick, a wicked ambitious man, who expected to rife upon the downfall of the two brothers, he deprived him of his office of high-admiral, and figned a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Yet still the protector suspended the blow, and shewed a reluctance to ruin one so nearly connected with himself: he offered once more to be fincerely reconciled, and give him his life, if he was contented to spend the remainder of his days in retirement and repentance. But finding himself unable to work on the inflexible temper of his brother by any methods but feverity, he ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles; and the whole to be brought into parliament, which was now become the instrument by which the administration usually punished their enemies. The charge being brought first into the house of lords, several peers, rising up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning lord Seymour's conduct, and his criminal words and actions. There was more difficulty in managing the profecution in the house of commons; but upon receiving a message from the king, requiring them to proceed, the bill passed in a very full house, near four hundred voting for it, and not above nine or ten against it. The sentence was soon after executed, by beheading him on Tower-Hill. His death, however, was, in general, disagreeable to the nation, who confidered the lord Seymour as hardly dealt with, in being condemned upon general allegations, without having an opportunity of making a defence, or confronting his accusers. But the chief odium fell upon the protector; and it must be owned that there was no reason for carrying his feverity to fuch a length as he did. This A 5

This obstacle being removed, the protector went on to reform and regulate the new system of religion, which was now become the chief concern of the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the council to frame a liturgy for the service of the church; and this work was executed with great moderation, precifion, and accuracy. A law was also enacted, permitting priefts to marry; the ceremony of auricular confession, though not abolished, was left at the discretion of the people, who were not displeased at being freed from the spiritual tyranny of their instructors; the doctrine of the real presence was the last tenet of popery that was wholly abandoned by the people, as both the clergy and laity were loth to renounce so miraculous a benefit, as it was afferted to be. However, at last, not only this, but all the principal opinions and practices of the Catholic religion, contrary to what the scripture authorizes, were abolished; and the reformation, fuch as we have it, was almost entirely completed in England. With all these innovations the people and clergy in general acquiefced; and Gardiner and Bonner, were the only persons whose opposition was thought of any weight; they were, therefore, fent to the Tower, and threatened with the king's further displeasure in case of disobedience.

But it had been well for the credit of the reformers, had they stopt at imprisonment only. They also resolved to become persecutors in turn; and although the very spirit of their doctrines arose from a freedom of thinking, yet they could not bear that any should controvert what they had been at so much pains to establish. A commission was granted to the primate and some others, to search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the new liturgy. Among the number of

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those who were supposed to incur guilt upon this occasion, was one Joan Boucher, commonly called Joan of Kent; who was so extremly obstinate. that the commissioners could gain nothing upon her. She had maintained an abstruse metaphysical fentiment, that Christ, as man, was a sinful man; but as the Word he was free from fin, and could be subject to none of the frailties of the flesh with which he was cloathed. For maintaining this doctrine, which none of them could understand, this poor ignorant woman was condemned to be burnt to death as an heretic. young king, who it feems had more fense than his ministers, refused at first to sign the death warrant; but being at last pressed by Cranmer, and vanquished by his importunities, he reluctantly complied; declaring, that if he did wrong, the fin should be on the head of those who had persuaded him to it. The primate after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her opinions, and finding her obstinate against all his arguments, at last committed her to the flames. Some time after, one Van Paris, a Dutchman, being accused of an herefy called Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment. He suffered with so much fatisfaction, that he hugged and careffed the faggots that were consuming him; and died exulting in his fituation.

Although these measures were intended for the benefit of the nation, and in the end turned out entirely to the advantage of society; yet they were at that time attended with many inconveniences, to which all changes, whatsoever, are liable. When the monasteries were suppressed, a prodigious number of monks were obliged to earn their subsistence by their labour, so that all kinds of business were overstocked. The lands of the monasteries, also, had been formerly farmed out to the common people,

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people, so as to employ a great number of hands; and the rents being moderate, they were able to maintain their families on the profits of agriculture. But now these lands being possessed by the nobility, the rents were raised; and the farmers perceiving that wool was a better commodity than corn, turned all their fields into pasture. In consequence of this practice, the price of meal arose, to the unspeakable hardship of the lower class of people. Befide, as few hands were required to manage a pasture farm, a great number of poor people were utterly deprived of subsistence, while the nation was filled with murmurs and complaints against the nobility, who were considered as the sources of the general calamity. To add to these complaints, the rich proprietors of lands proceeded to enclose their estates; while the tenants, re-

garded as an useless burden, were expelled their Even cottagers, deprived of the habitations. commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to misery; and a great decay of people, as well as a diminution of provisions, was observed in every part of the kingdom. To add to this picture of general calamity, all the good coin of the kingdom was hoarded up or exported abroad; while a base metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad in great abundance; and this the poor were obliged to receive in payment, but could not disburse at an Thus an universal diffidence equal advantage. and stagnation of commerce took place; and nothing but loud complaints were heard in every quarter.

The protector, who knew that his own power was to be founded on the depression of the nobility, espoused the cause of the sufferers. He appointed commissioners to examine whether the possessor of the church-lands had fulfilled the condi-

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tions on which those lands had been fold by the crown; and ordered all late enclosures to be laid open on an appointed day. As the object of this commission was very disagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they called it arbitrary and illegal; while the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for redrefs, role in great numbers, and fought a remedy by force of arms. The rifing began at once, in feveral parts of England. as if an universal conspiracy had been formed among the people. The rebels in Wiltshire, were dispersed by Sir William Herbert; those of Oxford and Gloucester, by lord Gray of Wilton: the commotions in Hampshire, Suffex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentle methods: but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk were the most obstinate, and threatened the greatest danger. In the first of these counties, the infurgents, amounting to ten thousand men, were headed by one Humphry Arundel, an experienced foldier; and they were still more encouraged by fermons, which gave their revolt the air of a religious confederacy. They accordingly fent a fet of articles to court, which, in general, demanded an abolition of the statutes lately made in favour of the reformation; but the ministry rejected their demands with contempt, at the same time offering a pardon to all that would lay down their arms and return to their habitations. But the infurgents were now too far advanced to recede; and still encouraged by the monks, who were with them, they laid fiege to Exeter, carrying before them croffes, banners, holy-water, candlesticks, and other implements of their ancient superstition; but the town was gallantly defended by the inhabitants. In the mean time, lord Ruffel had been fent against them with a small body of forces; and being reinforced by lord Gray and others, he attacked, and drove

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drove them from all their intrenchments. Great flaughter was committed upon these deluded creatures, both in the action and the pursuit. Arundel, their leader, and several others, were sent to London, where they were condemned and executed. Many of the inferior fort were put to death by martial law. The vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own steeple, arrayed in his popish

habits, with his beads at his girdle.

The fedition at Norfolk appeared still more alarming. The infurgents there amounted to twenty thousand men; and as their forces were numerous, their demands were exorbitant. They required the suppression of the gentry, and placing new counsellors about the king, and the establishment of their ancient rights. One Ket, a tanner, had affumed the priority among them; he erected his tribunal near Norwich, under an old oak, which was termed the Oak of Reformation. He afterwards undertook the fiege of Norwich, which having reduced, he imprisoned the mayor, and some of the principal citizens. The marquis of Northampton was first sent down against them, but met with a repulse; the earl of Warwick followed foon after, at the head of fix thousand men, and foon coming to a general engagement, put them intirely to the rout. Two thousand of them fell in the fight and pursuit; Ket was hanged at Norwich castle, nine of his followers on the boughs of the Oak of Reformation; and the insurrection, which was the last in favour of popery, was thus intirely suppressed.

But though the suppression of these insurrections seemed to be very savourable to the interests of the protector, yet the authority which the earl of Warwick gained in quelling that of Norfolk, terminated in Somerset's ruin. Of all the mini-

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fters, at that time in the council, Dudley, earl of Warwick, was the most artful, ambitious, and unprincipled. Refolved at any rate to possess the principal place under the king, he cared not what means were to be used in acquiring it. However, unwilling to throw off the mask, he covered the most exorbitant views under the fairest appearances. Having affociated himself with the earl of Southampton, he formed a strong party in the council, who were determined to free themselves from the control the protector affumed over them. That nobleman was, in fact, now grown obnoxious to a very prevailing party in the kingdom. He was hated by the nobles for his superior magnificence and power; he was hated by the Catholic party for his regard to the Reformation; he was difliked by many for his feverity to his brother; besides the great estate he had raised, at the expence of the church and the crown, rendered him obnoxious to all. The palace which he was then building in the Strand, ferved also by its magnificence, and still more by the unjust methods that were taken to raise it, to expose him to the cenfures of the public. The parish church of St. Mary, with three bishops' houses, were pulled down to furnish ground and materials for the struc-Several other churches were demolished, to have their stones employed to the same purpose; and it was not without an infurrection, that the parishioners of St. Margaret's, Westminster, prevented their church from being pulled down to make room for the new fabric.

These imprudences were soon exaggerated and enlarged upon by Somerset's enemies. They represented him as a parricide, a facrilegious tyrant, and an unjust usurper upon the privileges of the council and the rights of the king. In consequence of this, the lord St. John, president of the

council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five counfellors more, met at Ely-House; and assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independent Octob. 6. of the protector, whom they pretended to consider as the author of every

to the chief nobility and gentry of England, informing them of the present measures, and requiring their assistance. They sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to concur in their measures, which they represented as the only means of saving the nation. The next day several others of the council joined the seceding members; and the protector now began to

tremble, not for his authority, but his life.

He had no sooner been informed of these transactions, than he fent the king to Windsor, and armed the inhabitants of Hampton and Windsor also for his security. But finding that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, and that the people did not rife at his fummons, perceiving that he was in a manner deferted by all, and that all resistance was fruitless, he resolved to apply to his enemies for pardon. This gave fresh strength and confidence to the party of Warwick; they affured the king, with the humblest professions of obedience, that their only aim was to put the council on the same footing on which it had been ordained by the will of their late fovereign, and to rescue his authority from the hands of a. man who had affumed all power to himfelf. king, who never much cared for Somerset, gave their address a favourable reception; and the protector was fent to the Tower, with some of his friends and partizans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards earl of Salisbury. Mean while the council ordered fix lords to act as governors to the king,

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king, two at a time officiating alternately. It was then, for the first time, that the earl of Warwick's ambition began to appear in full splendour; he set himself forward as the principal promoter of the protector's ruin, and the other members, without the least opposition, permitted him to assume the

reins of government.

It was now supposed that Somerset's fate was fixed, as his enemies were numerous, and the charges. against him of the most heinous nature. chief article of which he was accused, was his usurpation of the government, and the taking all power into his own hands; several others of a flighter tint were added to invigorate this accufation, but none of them could be faid to amount to the crime of high treason. In consequence of these a bill of attainder was preferred against him in the house of lords; but Somerset contrived, for this time, to elude the rigour of their fentence, by having previously, on his knees, confessed the charge before the members of the council. This confession, which he signed with his own hand, was alleged and read against him at the bar of the house, who once more sent a deputation to him, to know, whether the confession was voluntary or extorted. Somerset thanked them for their candour; owned that it was his voluntary act, but strenuously insisted, that he had never harboured a finister thought against the king or the commonwealth. In consequence of this confession, he was deprived of all his offices and goods, together with a great part of his landed estate, which was forfeited to the use of the crown. This fine on his estate was soon after remitted by the king, and Somerset once more, contrary to the expectation of all, recovered his liberty. He was even re-admitted into the council; happy for him, if his ambition had not revived with his fecurity. The

The catholics were extremely elevated at the protector's fall; and they began to entertain hopes of a revolution in their favour. But they were mistaken in their opinion of Warwick, who now took the lead, as ambition was the only principle in his breast; and to that he was resolved to facrifice all others. He foon gave instances of his difregard in religious points, by his permitting Gardiner to undergo the penalties prescribed against Many of the prelates, and he among the rest, though they made some compliances, were still addicted to their ancient communion. A resolution was therefore taken to deprive them of their fees; and it was thought proper to begin with him, in order to strike a terror into the He had been now for two years in prison, for having refused to inculcate the duty of obedience to the king during his minority; and the council took this opportunity to fend him feveral articles to subscribe, among which was one, acknowledging the justice of the order for his confinement. He was likewise to own, that the king was supreme head of the church; that the power of making and dispensing holidays was a part of the prerogative; and that the Common Prayer Book was a godly and commendable form. Gardiner was willing to put his hand to all the articles, except that by which he accused himself, which he refused to do, justly perceiving that their aim was either to ruin or dishonour him. For this offence he was deprived of his bishopric, committed to close custody; his books and papers were seized; all company was denied him; and he was not even permitted the use of pen and ink. This severity, in some measure, countenanced those which this prelate had afterwards an opportunity of retaliating when he came into power. But

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But the reformers did not stop here: the rapacious courtiers, never to be fatisfied, and giving their violence an air of zeal, deprived, in the same manner, Day, bishop of Chichester, Heathe of Worcester, and Voisy of Exeter. The bishops of Landaff, Salisbury, and Coventry came off fomething more advantageously, by facrificing the most confiderable share of their ecclesiastical revenues. Not only the revenues of the church, but the libraries also, underwent a dreadful scrutiny. The libraries of Westminster and Oxford were ordered to be ransacked, and purged of the Romish misfals, legends, and other superstitious volumes; in which fearch great devastation was made even in useful literature. Many volumes clasped in silver were destroyed for the sake of their rich bindings; many of geometry and aftronomy were supposed to be magical, and met no mercy. The univerfity, unable to stop the fury of these barbarians, filently looked on, and trembled for its own fecurity.

Warwick was willing to indulge the nobility with these humiliations of the church; and perceiving that the king was extremely attached to the reformation, he supposed that he could not make his court to the young monarch better than by a feeming zeal in the cause. But he was still fledfastly bent on enlarging his own power; and as the last earl of Northumberland died without issue or heirs, Warwick procured for himself a grant of his ample possessions, and obtained the title also of duke of Northumberland. The duke of Somerset was now the only person he wished to have entirely removed; for though fallen as he was by his late spiritless conduct, yet he still preferved a share of popularity that rendered him formidable to this aspirer. Indeed Somerset was not always upon his guard against the arts of Nor-

thumberland;

thumberland; but could not help now and then burfting out into invectives, which were quickly carried to his fecret enemy. As he was furrounded by Northumberland's creatures, they took care: to reveal all the defigns which they had themselves first suggested; and Somerset soon found the fatal effects of his rival's refentment. He was, by Northumberland's command, arrested with many more, accused of being his partizans; and he was, with his wife the dutchess, also thrown into prifon. He was now accused of having formed a defign to raise an insurrection in the North; of attacking the train-bands on a muster day; of plotting to secure the Tower, and to excite a rebellion in London. These charges he strenuously denied; but he confessed to one of as heinous a nature, which was, that he had laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet, which was to be given them by lord Paget. He was foon after brought: to a trial before the marquis of Winchester, who fat as high-steward on the occasion, with twentyfeven peers more, including Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, who were at once: his judges and accusers. He was accused with an intention to fecure the person of the king, and reassume the administration of affairs, to assassinate: the duke of Northumberland, and raile an infurrection in the city. He pleaded not guilty to the first part of the charge, and of this he was accordingly acquitted; but he was found guilty of conspiring the death of a privy-counsellor, which crime had been made felony in the reign of Henry the seventh; and for this he was condemned to be hanged. The populace seeing him re-conveyed to the Tower without the ax, which was no longer carried before him, imagined that he had been intirely acquitted; and in repeated shouts and ac-

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clamations manifested their joy; but this was fuddenly damped, when they were better informed of his doom. Care in the mean time had been taken to prepoffes the young king against his uncle; and left he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends, while the prince was kept from reflection by a feries of occupations and amusements. At last the prisoner was brought to the scaffold on Tower-Hill, where he appeared, without the least emotion, in the midst of a vast concourse of the populace, by whom he was beloved. He spoke to them with great composure, protesting that he had always promoted the service of his king, and the interests of true religion, to the best of his power. The people attested their belief of what he faid, by crying out, "It is most true." An universal tumult was beginning to take place; but Somerset desiring them to be still, and not to interrupt his last meditations, but to join with him in prayer, he laid down his head, and submitted to the stroke of the executioner. Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Miles Partridge, were hanged; and Sir Michael Stanhope, with Sir Thomas Arundel, were beheaded, as being his accomplices.

Nothing could have been more unpopular than the measure of destroying Somerset, who, though many actions of his life were very exceptionable, yet still consulted the good of the people. The house of commons was particularly attached to him; and of this Northumberland was very sensible. He therefore resolved to dissolve that parliament, and call another that would be more obsequious to his will. For this purpose he engaged the king to write circular letters to all the sheriffs, in which he enjoined them to choose such men as he and the privy-council should recommend. With this despotic mandate the sheriffs immediate

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ately complied; and the members returned, fully answered Northumberland's expectations. He had long aimed at the first authority; and the infirm state of the king's health opened the prospects to his ambition. He represented to that young prince that his fifters Mary and Elizabeth, who were appointed by Henry's will to succeed in failure of direct heirs to the crown, had been both declared illegitimate by parliament; that the queen of Scots, his aunt, stood excluded by the king's will, and being an alien also, lost all right of succeeding; that as the three princesses were thus legally excluded, the fuccession naturally devolved to the marchioness of Dorset, whose next heir was the lady Jane Gray, a lady every way accomplished for government, as well by the charms of her person, as the virtues and acquirements of her mind. The king, who had long submitted to all the politic views of this defigning minister, agreed to have the fuccession submitted to council, where Northumberland hoped to procure an easy concurrence.

In the mean time, as the king's health declined, the minister laboured to strengthen his own interests and connexions. His first aim was to secure the interests of the marquis of Dorset, father to Lady Jane Gray, by procuring for him the title of duke of Suffolk, which was lately become extinct. Having thus obliged this nobleman, he then proposed a match between his fourth son, lord Guilford Dudley, and the lady Jane Gray, whose interests he had been at so much pains to A. D. advance. Still bent on spreading his interefts as widely as possible, he married 1553 his own daughter to lord Hastings; and had these marriages solemnized with all possible pomp and festivity. Mean while, Edward continued to languish; and several fatal symptoms of a confumption

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consumption began to appear. It was hoped, however, that his youth and temperance might get the better of his disorders; and from their love the people were unwilling to think him in danger. It had been remarked indeed by some, that his health was visibly seen to decline, from the time that the Dudleys were brought about his person. The character of Northumberland might have justly given some colour to suspicion; and his removing all, except his own emissaries, from about the king, still farther increased the distrusts of the people. Northumberland, however, was no way uneasy at their murmurs; he was affiduous in his attendance upon the king, and professed the most anxious concern for his fafety; but fill drove forward his darling scheme of transferring the succession to his own daughter-in-law. The judges who were appointed to draw up the king's letters patent for that purpole, warmly objected to the measure; and gave their reasons before the council. They begged that a parliament might be fummoned, both to give it force, and to free its partizans from danger; they faid, that the form was invalid, and would not only subject the judges who drew it, but every counsellor who figned it, to the pains of treason. Northumberland could not brook their demurs; he threatened them with the dread of his authority; he called one of them a traitor, and faid, that he would fight in his shirt with any man on so just a cause, as that of the lady Jane's succession. A method was therefore found out of screening the judges from danger, by granting them the king's pardon for what they should draw up; and at length, after much deliberation, and some refusals, the patent for changing the fuccession was completed. Thus, by this patent, Mary and Elizabeth were fet aside; and the crown was settled on the heirs of the dutchess

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of Suffolk, for the dutchess herself was contented to forego her claim.

Northumberland having thus far succeeded, thought physicians were no longer serviceable in the king's complaint; they were dismissed by his advice; and Edward was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who very considently undertook his cure. After the use of her medicines, all the bad symptoms increased to a most violent degree; he selt a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse sailed, his legs swelled, his colour became livid, and many other symptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign, greatly regretted by all, as his early virtues gave a prospect of the continuance of an

happy reign. What were the real qua-July 6. lities of this young prince's heart there was no time to discover; but the cultivation of his understanding, if we may credit historians, was amazing. He was said to understand the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish languages. He was versed in logic, mufic, natural philosophy, and theology. Cardan, the extraordinary scholar and visionary, happening to pay a visit to the English court, was so astonished at his early progress, that he extols him as a prodigy of nature. It is probable, however, that so much flattery as he received would have contributed to corrupt him, as it had formerly corrupted his father.

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T HE death of Edward only served to prepare greatly suffered from the depravity of their kings, or the turbulence of their nobility. The fuccession to the throne had hitherto been obtained partly by lineal descent, and partly by the aptitude for government in the person chosen. Neither quite hereditary, nor quite elective, it had made anceftry the pretext of right, while the confent of the people was necessary to support all hereditary pre-In fact, when wifely conducted, this is the best species of succession that can be conceived, as it prevents that aristocracy, which is ever the result of a government entirely elective; and that tyranny, which is too often established, where there is never an infringement on hereditary claums.

Whenever a monarch of England happened to be arbitrary, and to enlarge the prerogative, he generally confidered the kingdom as his property, and not himself as a servant of the people. fuch cases it was natural for him at his decease to bequeath his dominions as he thought proper. making his own will the standard of his subjects' happiness. Henry the eighth, in conformity to this practice, made his will, in which he fettled the fuccession merely according to his caprice. In that, Edward his fon was the first nominated to succeed him; then Mary, his eldest daughter, by Catharine of Spain; but with a special mark of condescension, by which he would intimate her illegitimacy. The next that followed was Eliza-VOL. III.

beth, his daughter by Anne Bullen, with the same marks, intimating her illegitimacy also. After his own children, his fister's children were mentioned; his younger fister the dutchess of Suffolk's issue were preferred before those of their elder fister the queen of Scotland, which preference was thought by all to be neither founded in justice, nor supported by reason. This will was now, however, set aside by the intrigues of Northumberland, by whose advice a will was made, as we have seen, in favour of lady Jane Gray, the dutchess of Suffolk's daughter, in prejudice of all other claimants. Thus, after the death of this young monarch, there were no fewer than four princesses who could affert their pretentions to the crown. Mary, who was the first upon Henry's will, but who had been declared illegitimate by an act of parliament, which was never repealed. Elizabeth was next to fucceed, and though the had been declared illegitimate, yet she had been restored to her rights during her father's life-time. The queen of Scotland, Henry's eldest fister, was first in right, supposing the two daughters illegitimate, while lady Jane Gray might alledge the will of the late king in her own favour.

Of these, however, only two put in their pretensions to the crown. Mary relying on the justice of her cause, and lady Jane upon the support of the duke of Northumberland, her father-inlaw. Mary was strongly bigotted to the popish superstitions, having been bred up among churchmen, and having been even taught to prefer martyrdom to a denial of belief. As she had lived in continual restraint, she was reserved and gloomy; she had, even during the life of her father, the resolution to maintain her sentiments, and resused to comply with his new institutions. Her zeal had rendered her surious; and she was not only blindly attached

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attached to her religious opinions, but even to the popish clergy who maintained them. On the other hand, Jane Gray was strongly attached to the reformers; and though yet but fixteen, her judgment had attained to fuch a degree of maturity, as few have been found to possess. All historians agree that the folidity of her understanding, improved by continual application, rendered her the wonder of her age. Ascham, tutor to Elizabeth, informs us, that coming once to wait upon lady Jane at her father's house in Leicestershire, he found her reading Plato's works in Greek, while all the rest of the family were hunting in the Park. Upon his testifying his surprize at her situation, she asfured him that Plato was an higher amusement to her than the most studied refinements of sensual pleasure; and she, in fact, seemed born for philosophy, and not for ambition.

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Such were the present rivals for power; but lady Jane had the start of her antagonist. Northumberland now refolving to fecure the succession, carefully concealed the death of Edward, in hope of securing the person of Mary, who, by an order of council, had been required to attend her brother during his illness; but being informed of his death, she immediately prepared to affert her pretensions to the crown. This crafty minister, therefore, finding that farther diffimulation was needless, went to Sion-house, accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility, to falute lady Jane Gray, who refided there. Jane was in a great measure ignorant of all these transactions; and it was with equal grief and surprize that she received intelligence of them. She shed a flood of tears, appeared inconsolable, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that she yielded to the entreaties of Northumberland, and the duke her father. At length, however, they exhorted her to confent, and next day conveyed her to the Tower, where it was then usual for the kings of England to pass some days after their accession. Thither also all the members of the council were obliged to attend her; and thus were in some measure made prisoners by Northumberland, whose will they were under a necessity of obeying. Orders were given also for proclaiming her throughout the kingdom; but these were but very remissly obeyed. When she was proclaimed in the city, the people heard her accession made public without any signs of pleasure, no applause ensued, and some even expressed

their fcorn and contempt.

In the mean time Mary, who had retired, upon the news of the king's death, to Kennington-Hall in Norfolk, fent circular letters to all the great towns and nobility in the kingdom, reminding them of her right, and commanding them to proclaim her without delay. Having taken these steps, she retired to Framlingham-Castle in Suffolk, that she might be near the fea, and escape to Flanders in case of failure. But she soon found her affairs wear the most promising aspect. The men of Suffolk came to pay her their homage; and being affured by her, that she would defend the laws and the religion of her predeceffor, they inlifted themselves in her cause with alacrity and affection. The people of Norfolk foon after came in; the earls of Bath, and Suffex, the eldest sons of lord Wharton, and lord Mordaunt, joined her; and lord Haftings, with four thousand men, which were raised to oppose her, revolted to her side. Even a fleet that had been fent to lie off the coast of Suffolk to prevent her escaping, engaged in her service; and now, but too late, Northumberland saw the deplorable end of all his schemes and ambition.

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This minister, with the consent of the council. had affembled some troops at Newmarket, had set on foot new levies in London, and appointed the duke of Suffolk general of the army, that he might himself continue with, and overawe the deliberations of the council. But he was turned from this manner of managing his affairs, by cont fidering how unfit Suffolk was to head the army; fo that he was obliged himself to take upon him the military command. It was now, therefore, that the council being free from his influence, and no longer dreading his immediate authority, began to declare against him. Arundel led the opposition, by representing the injustice and cruelty of Northumberland, and the exorbitancy of his ambiti-Pembroke seconded him with declarations, that he was ready to fight all of a contrary opinion; the mayor and aldermen, who were fent for, readily came into the same measures; the people expressed their approbation by shouts and applauses; and even Suffolk himself, finding all refistance fruitless, threw open the gates of the Tower, and joined in the general cry. Mary's claims now became irrefistible, and in a little time the found herfelf at the head of forty thousand men; while the few who attended Northumberland, continued irresolute; and he even feared to lead them to the encounter...

Lady Jane, thus finding that all was lost, refigned her royalty, which she had held but ten days, with marks of real satisfaction, and retired with her mother to their own habitation. Northumberland, also, who found his affairs desperate, and that it was impossible to stem the tide of popular opposition, attempted to quit the kingdom; but he was prevented by the band of pensioner guards, who informed him that he must stay

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to justify their conduct in being led out against their lawful sovereign. Thus circumvented on all fides, his cunning was now his only refource; and he began by endeavouring to recommend himself to Mary, by the most extravagant protestations of zeal in her fervice. He repaired to the marketplace in Cambridge, and proclaiming her queen of England, was the first to throw up his cap in token of joy. But he reaped no advantage from this mean duplicity; he was the next day arrested in the queen's name by the earl of Arundel, at whose feet he fell upon his knees, begging protection with the most abject submission. His three sons, his brother, and some more of his followers were arrested with him, and committed to the Tower of London. Soon after, the lady Jane Gray, the duke of Suffolk her father, and lord Guildford Dudley her husband, were made prisoners by order of the queen, whose authority was now confirmed by universal assent.

Northumberland was the first who suffered for opposing her, and was the person who deserved punishment the most. When brought to his trial, he openly defired permission to ask two questions of the peers, who were appointed to fit on his jury; "Whether a man could be guilty of treason, who obeyed orders given him by the council under the great feal? and, whether those who were involved in the same guilt with himself, could act as his judges?" Being told that the great feal of an usurper was no authority; and that his judges were proper, as they were unimpeached, he acquiesced, and pleaded guilty. At his execution, he owned himself a papist; and exhorted the people to return to the catholic faith, as they hoped for happiness and tranquillity. Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, two infamous tools of

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his power, fuffered with him; and the queen's refentment was appealed by the lives of three men. who had forfeited them by feveral former crimes. Sentence was pronounced against lady Jane, and lord Guilford, but without any intention for the present of putting it in execution; the youth and innocence of the persons, neither of whom had reached their seventeenth year, pleaded powerfully in their favour.

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Mary now entered London, and with very little effusion of blood, saw herself joyfully proclaimed, and peaceably fettled on the throne. This was the crisis of British happiness; a queen whose right. was the most equitable, in some measure elected by the people, the aristocracy of the last reign almost wholly suppressed, the house of commons by this means reinstated in its ancient authority, the pride of the clergy humbled, and their vices detected, peace abroad, and unanimity at home. This was the flattering prospect of Mary's accession, but foon this pleasing phantom was diffolved. Mary was morose, and a bigot; she was resolved to give back their former power to the clergy; and thus once more to involve the kingdom in all the horrors it had just emerged from. The queen had promised the men of Suffolk, who first came to declare in her favour, that the would fuffer religion to remain in the fituation in which she found it, This promife, however, she by no means intended to perform; the had determined on bringing the fentiments of the people to correspond with. her own; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubting her own belief, or of granting indulgence to the doubts of others. Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstal, Day, Heath, and Vefey, who had been confined, or suffered losses for their catholic opinions, during the late reigns, were taken from prison, re-instated in their sees,

and their former fentences repealed. On pretence of discouraging controversy, she silenced, by her prerogative, all preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular license; which she was previously determined to grant only to those of her own persuasion. Men now, therefore, foresaw that the Reformation was to be overturned; and though the queen still pretended that she would grant a general toleration, yet no great favour could be expected by those who were hate-

ful to her from inveterate prejudices.

The first steps that caused an alarm among the protestants, was the severe treatment of Cranmer, whose moderation, integrity, and virtues, had made him dear, even to most of the catholic party. A report being spread, that this prelate, in order to make his court to the queen, had promised to officiate in the Latin service, he drew up a declaration, in which he entirely cleared himself of the afpersion indeed, but incurred what was much more terrible, the queen's resentment. On the publication of this paper, Cranmer was thrown into prison, and tried for the part he had acted, in concurring among the rest of the council, to exalt lady Jane, and fet aside the rightful sovereign. This guilt he had in fact incurred; but as it was shared with a large body of men, most of whom were not only uncenfured, but even taken into favour; the malignancy of the profecution was eafily feen through. Sentence of high treason was, therefore, pronounced against him; but it was not then executed, as this venerable man was referred for a more dreadful punishment. Shortly after, Peter Martyr, a German reformer, who had in the late reign been invited over to England, feeing how things were likely to go, defired leave to return to his native country. But the zeal of the catholics, though he had escaped them, was malignantly,

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though harmlefsly, wrecked upon the body of his wife, which had been interred some years before at Oxford. It was dug up by public order, and buried in a dunghill. The bones also of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reform- 1553. ers, were about the same time committed to the flames at Cambridge. The greater part of the foreign protestants, took early precautions to leave the kingdom; and many of the arts and manufactures, which they successfully advanced, fled with them. Nor were their fears without foundation; a parliament, which the queen called foon after, feemed willing to concur in all her measures; they at one blow repealed all the statutes with regard to religion, which had passed during the reign of her predecessor; so that the national religion was again placed on the same footing, on which it stood at the death of Henry the eighth.

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While religion was thus returning to its primitive abuses, the queen's ministers, who were willing to strengthen her power by a catholic alliance, had been for some time looking out for a proper confort. The person on whom her own affections feemed chiefly placed was the earl of Devonshire: but that nobleman either disliking her person, or having already placed his affections on her fifter Elizabeth, neglected all overtures to fuch an alli-Cardinal Pole, who, though invested with that ecclefiastical dignity, was still a layman, and a person of high character for virtue, generosity, and attachment to the catholic religion, was next thought of. But as he was in the decline of life, the queen foon dropped all thoughts of him. The person last thought of, and who succeeded, was Philip, prince of Spain, and son of the celebrated Charles the fifth. In order to avoid as much as possible any disagreeable remonstrances from the people, the articles of marriage were drawn as fa-B 5 vourably

vourably as possible to the interests and honour of England; and this in some measure stilled the clamours that had already been begun against it. It was agreed, that though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges; that her issue should inherit, together with England, Burgundy, and the Low-Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's fon by a former marriage, should die, the queen's issue should then enjoy all the dominions possessed by the king. Such was the treaty of marriage, from which politicians foresaw very great changes in the fystem of Europe; but which in the end came to nothing, by the queen's having no iffue.

The people, however, who did not fee fo far, were much more just in their surmises, who saw that it might be a blow to their liberties and religion. They loudly murmured against it, and a flame of discontent was kindled over the whole na-Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Roman catholic, at the head of four thousand insurgents, marched from Kent to Hyde Park, publishing, as he went forward, a declaration against the queen's evil counsellors, and against the panish match. His first aim was to fecure the Tower; but his rafhness undid him. As he marched forward through the city of London, and among the narrow streets without suspicion, care was taken by the earl of Pembroke to block up the way behind him by ditches and chains thrown across, and guards placed at all the avenues to prevent his return. In this manner did this bold demagogue pass onward, and supposed himself now ready to reap the fruits of his undertaking, when, to his utter confusion, he found that he could neither go forward, nor

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yet make good his retreat. He now, therefore, perceived that the citizens, from whom he had expected affistance, would not join him; and lof-ing all courage in this exigency, he surrendered at discretion.

The duke of Suffolk was not less guilty also; he had been joined in a confederacy with Sir Peter Carew, to make an insurrection in the counties of Kent, Warwick, and Leicester; but his confederate's impatience engaging him to rise in arms before the day appointed, Suffolk vainly endeavoured to excite his dependants; but was so closely pursued by the earl of Huntingdon, that he was obliged to disperse his followers; and being discovered in his retreat, was led prisoner to London, where he, together with Wyatt, and seventy perfons more, suffered by the hand of the executioner. Four hundred were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks; and falling on their knees received pardon, and were dismissed.

But what excited the compassion of the people most of all, was the execution of lady Jane Gray, and her husband lord Guilford Dudley, who were involved in the punishment, though not in the guilt, of this insurrection. Two days after Wyatt was apprehended, lady Jane and her husband were ordered to prepare for death. Lady Jane, who had long before seen the threatened blow, was no way surprised at the message, but bore it with heroic resolution; and being informed that she had three days to prepare, she seemed displeased at so long a delay. On the day of her execution her husband desired permission to see her; but this she

refused, as she knew the parting would be too tender for her fortitude, to withstand. The place at first designed for their execution was without the Lower: but their wouth beauty and inno-

the lower; but their youth, beauty, and innocence being likely to raise an insurrection among

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the people, orders were given that they frould be executed within the verge of the Tower. Lord Dudley was the first that suffered; and while the lady Jane was conducting to the place of execution, the officers of the Tower met her, bearing along the headless body of her husband streaming with blood, in order to be interred in the Tower-chapel. She looked on the corpse for some time without any emotion; and then, with a figh, defired them to proceed. John Gage, constable of the Tower, as he led her to execution, defired her to bestow on him some small present, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her. She gave him her tablets, where she had just written three fentences on feeing her husband's dead body, one in Greek, one in Latin, and one in English, importing, that she hoped God and posterity would do him and their cause justice. On the scaffold she made a speech, in which she alledged that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with sufficient constancy; that she had less erred through embition than filial obedience; that she willingly accepted death as the only atonement the could make to the injured state; and was ready by her punishment to shew, that innocence is no plea in excuse for deeds that tend to injure the community. After speaking to this effect, the caused herself to be difrobed by her women, and with a fleady ferene countenance submitted to the executioner.

The enemies of the state being thus suppressed, the theatre was now opened for the pretended enemies of religion. The queen being freed from apprehensions of an insurrection, began by assembling a parliament, which upon this, as upon most occasions, seemed only met to give countenance to her various severities. The nobles, whose only religion was that of the prince who governed,

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governed, were easily gained over: and the house of commons had long been passive under all the variations of regal caprice. But there was a new enemy started up against the reformers in the perfon of the king, who, though he took all possible care to conceal his aversion, yet secretly influenced the queen, and enflamed all her proceedings. Philip had for some time been come over; and had used every endeavour to encrease that share of power which he had been allowed by parliament, but without effect. The queen, indeed, who loved him with a foolish fondness that fat but ill on a person of her years and disagreeable person, endeavoured to please him by every concession she could make or procure; and finding herfelf incapable of fatisfying his ambition, the was not remiss in concurring with his zeal; so that heretics began to be perfecuted with inquilitorial fe-The old fanguinary laws were A. D. now revived, which had been rejected by 1554. a former parliament. Orders were given that the bishops and priests who had married should be ejected, that the mass should be restored, that the pope's authority should be established, and that the church and its privileges, all but their goods and estates, should be put upon the same foundation on which they were before the commencement of the reformation. As the gentry and nobles had already divided the church-lands among them, it was thought inconvenient, and indeed impossible, to make a restoration of these.

At the head of those who drove such measures forward were Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and cardinal Pole, who was now returned from Italy. Pole, who was nearly allied by birth to the royal family, had always conscientiously adhered to the catholic religion, and had incurred Henry's displeasure, not only by refusing his assent

to his measures, but by writing against him. It was for this adherence that he was cherished by the pope, and now fent over to England as legate from the holy see. Gardiner was a man of a very different character; his chief aim was to pleafe the reigning prince, and he had shewn already many inflances of his prudent conformity. He now perceived that the king and queen were for rigorous measures; and he knew that it would be the best means of paying his court to them, even to out-go them in feverity. Pole, who had never varied in his principles, declared in favour of toleration; Gardiner, who had often changed, was for punishing those changes in others with the utmost rigour. However, he was too prudent to appear at the head of a persecution in person; he therefore configned that odious office to Bonner, bishop of London, a cruel, brutal, and ignorant

This bloody scene began by the martyrdom of Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's. They were examined by commissioners appointed by the queen, with the chancellor at the head of them. It was expected by their recantation that they would bring those opinions into difrepute which they had fo long inculcated; but the perfecutors were deceived; they both continued stedfast in their belief, and they were accordingly condemned to be burnt, Rogers in Smithfield, and Hooper in his own diocese at Gloucester. Rogers, beside the care of his own preservation, lay under very powerful temptations to deny his principles, and fave his life, for he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; but nothing could move his resolution. Such was his ferenity after condemnation, that the gaolors, we are told, waked him from a found fleep upon the approach of the hour appointed for his execu-

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cution. He defired to see his wife before he died but Gardiner told him that being a priest he could. have no wife. When the faggots were placed around him, he feemed no way daunted at the preparation; but cried out, "I refign my life " with joy in testimony of the doctrine of Jesus." When Hooper was tied to the stake a stool was fet before him with the queen's pardon upon it, in case he should relent; but he ordered it to be removed, and prepared chearfully to fuffer his fentence, which was executed in its full feverity. The fire, either from malice or neglect, had not been. fufficiently kindled; fo that his legs and thighs were first burned, and one of his hands dropped off, while with the other he continued to beat his breaft. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible constancy.

Sanders and Taylor, two other clergymen, whose zeal had been distinguished in carrying on the reformation, were the next that suffered. Taylor was put into a pitch-barrel; and before the fire was kindled, a faggot from an unknown hand was thrown at his head, which made it stream with blood. Still, however, he continued undaunted singing the thirty-first psalm in English, which one of the spectators observing, struck him a blow on the side of the head, and commanded him to pray in Latin. Taylor continued a few minutes silent with his eyes stedsastly fixed upward, when one of the guards, either through impatience or compassion, struck him down with his halbert, and thus

happily put an end to his torments.

The death of these only served to increase the savage appetite of the popish bishops and monks, for fresh slaughter. Bonner, bloated at once with rage and luxury, let loose his vengeance without restraint; and seemed to take a pleasure in the pains of the unhappy sufferers; while the queen,

by her letters, exhorted him to purfue the pious work without pity or interruption. Soon after, in obedience to her commands, Ridley, bishop of London; and the venerable Latimer, bishop of Worcester, were condemned together. Ridley had been one of the ablest champions for the reformation; his piety, learning, and folidity of judgment, were admired by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. The night before his execution, he invited the mayor of Oxford and his wife to fee him; and when he beheld them melted into tears, he himself appeared quite unmoved, inwardly supported and comforted in that hour of agony. When he was brought to the stake to be burnt, he found his old friend Latimer there before him. Of all the prelates of that age, Latimer was the most remarkable for his unaffected piety, and the simplicity of his manners. He had never learned to flatter in courts; and his open rebuke was dreaded by all the great, who at that time too much deserved it. His sermons, which remain to this day, shew that he had much learning, and much wit; and there is an air of fincerity running through them, not to be found elfewhere. When Ridley began to comfort his ancient friend; Latimer, on his part, was as ready "Be of good cheer, to return the kind office. brother, cried he, we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished." A furious bigot ascended to preach to them and the people, while the fire was preparing; and Ridley gave a most serious attention to his discourse. No way distracted by the preparations about him, he heard him to the last; and then told him, that he was ready to answer all that he had preached upon, if he were permitted a short indulgence; but this was refused him. At length fire was fet to the pile: Latimer was foon out of pain, but Ridley continued to suffer much longer,

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One Thomas Haukes, when conducted to the stake, had agreed with his friends, that if he found the torture supportable, he would make them a fignal for that purpose in the midst of the stames. His zeal for the cause in which he suffered was so strong, that when the spectators thought him near expiring, by stretching out his arms, he gave his friends the signal that the pain was not too great to be borne. This example, with many others of the like constancy, encouraged multitudes not only to suffer, but even to aspire aftermartyrdom.

But women seemed persecuted with as much severity even as men. A woman in Guernsey, condemned for heresy, was delivered of a child in the midst of the slames. Some of the spectators, humanely ran to snatch the infant from danger; but the magistrate, who was a papist, ordered it to be flung in again, and there it was consumed with

the mother.

Cranmer's death followed foon after, and struck the whole nation with horror. This prelate whom we have feen acting fo very conspicuous a part in the reformation, during the two preceding reigns, had been long detained a priloner, in confequence of his imputed guilt in obstructing the queen's fuccession to the crown. But it was now resolved to bring him to punishment; and to give it all its malignity, the queen ordered that he should be punished for herefy, rather than for treason. He. was accordingly cited by the pope, to stand his trial at Rome; and though he was kept a prifoner at Oxford, yet upon his not appearing, he was condemned as contumacious. But his enemies were not fatisfied with his tortures, without adding to them the poignancy of felf accusation. Persons were, therefore, employed to tempt him

by flattery and infinuation; by giving him hopes of once more being received into favour, to fign his recantation, by which he acknowledged the doctrines of the papal supremacy and the real His love of life prevailed. In an unguarded moment he was induced to fign this paper; and now his enemies, as we are told of the devil, after having rendered him completely wretched, resolved to destroy him. But it was determined before they led him out to execution, that they should try to induce him to make a recantation in the church before the people. The unfortunate prelate, either having a fecret intimation of their design, or having once more recovered the native vigour of his mind, entered the church, prepared to surprize the whole audience by a contrary declaration. Being placed in a conspicuous part of the church, a fermon was preached by Cole, provost of Eaton, in which he magnified Cranmer's conversion as the immediate work of heaven itself. He affured the archbishop, that nothing could have been fo pleasing to God, the queen, or the people; he comforted him, that in case it was thought fit he should suffer, that numberless dirges and masses should be said for his foul; and that his own confession of his faith would still more secure his foul from the pains of purga-During this whole rhapfody, Cranmer expressed the utmost agony, anxiety, and internal agitation; he lifted up his eyes to heaven, he shed a torrent of tears, and groaned with unutterable anguish. He then began a prayer, filled with the most pathetic expressions of horror and remorse: he then said he was well apprized of his duty to his fovereign; but that a superior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to declare that he had figned a paper contrary to his confcience: that he took this opportunity of attoning for his error, by a fincere and open recantation;

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he was willing he faid, to feal with his blood that doctrine, which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven; and that as his hand had erred, by betraying his heart, it should undergo the first punishment. The assembly, consisting chiefly of papifts, who hoped to triumph in the last words of fuch a convert, were equally confounded and incensed at this declaration. They called aloud. to him to leave off diffembling; and led him forward amidst the insults and reproaches of his audience to the stake at which Latimer and Ridley had fuffered. He was resolved to triumph over their infults by his constancy and fortitude; and the fire beginning to be kindled round him, he firetched forth his right hand, and held it in the flames till it was confumed, while he frequently cried out, in the midst of his sufferings, " That. " unworthy hand;" at the same time exhibiting no appearance of pain or diforder. When the fire attacked his body, he feemed to be quite infenfible of his tortures; his mind was occupied wholly upon the hopes of a future reward. his body was destroyed, his heart was found entire; an emblem of the constancy with which he: fuffered.

These persecutions were now become odious to the whole nation; and, as it may be easily supposed, the perpetrators of them were all willing to throw the odium from themselves upon others. Philip, sensible of the hatred which he must incurupon this occasion, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himself by a very gross artisce. He ordered his confessor to deliver in his presence a sermon in favour of toleration; but Bonner in his turn would not take the whole of the blame, and retorted the severities upon the court. In fact, a bold step was taken to introduce a court similar to that of the Spanish inquisition, that should be empowered.

empowered to try heretics, and condemn them without any other form of law but its own authority. But even this was thought a method too dilatory in the present exigence of affairs. A proclamation issued against books of herefy, treason, and fedition, declared, that whofoever having fuch books in his possession did not burn them without reading, should be esteemed rebels, and suffer accordingly. This, as might be expected, was attended with bloody effects, whole crowds were executed, till even the very magistrates, who had been instrumental in these cruelties, at last refused to lend their affistance. It was computed, that during this perfecution, two hundred and feventy-seven persons suffered by fire, besides those punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscati-Among those who suffered by fire were five bishops, twenty one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty four tradefinen, one hundred husbandmen, fifty-five women, and four children.

All this was terrible; and yet the temporal afrairs of the kingdom did not feem to be more fuccessful. From Philip's first arrival in England the queen's pregnancy was talked of; and her own extreme defire that it should be true, induced her to favour the report. When Pole, the pope's legate, was first introduced to her, she fancied the child ftirred in her womb; and this her flatterers compared to the leaping of John the Baptist in his mother's belly, at the falutation of the Virgin. The catholics were confident that the was pregnant; they were confident that this child should be a fon; they were even confident that heaven would render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But it foon turned out that all their confidence was ill founded; for the queen's supposed pregnancy was only the beginning of a dropfy, which the:

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This opinion of the queen's pregnancy was all along carefully kept up by Philip, as it was an artifice by which he hoped to extend his authority in the kingdom, but he was mistaken: the English parliament, however lax in their principles at that time, harboured a continual jealoufy against him, and passed repeated acts, by which they ascertained the limits of his power, and confirmed the authority of the queen. Ambition was his only ruling passion; and the extreme fondness of the queen for his person was rather permitted by him than defired. He only wanted to make her inclinations subservient to the purposes of his power; but finding her unable to fatisfy him in that hope, he no longer treated her with any return of affection, but behaved to her with apparent indifference and neglect. At length, tired with her importunities and jealousies, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, he took hold of the first opportunity to leave her, and went over to the emperor his father in Flanders. In the mean time, the queen's passion increased in proportion to the coolness with which it was returned. She passed most of her time in solitude, where she gave vent to her forrows, either by tears or by writing fond epiftles to Philip, who, except when he wanted money, feldom returned her any answer. To supply his demands upon these occasions, she took feveral very extorting methods by loans, which were forced from feveral whom the thought most affectionate to her person, or best able to spare it. She offered the English merchants at Antwerp tourteen per cent. for a loan of thirty thousand pounds, and yet was mortified by a refusal.

She was more successful in her attempts to engage the English in a war with France, at the instrigation

stigation of her husband, although in the end it turned out to her utter confusion. A war had just been commenced between Spain and that kingdom; and Philip, who took this occasion to come over to England, declared, that if he were not feconded by England at this crifis, he would never fee the country more. This declaration greatly heightened the queen's zeal for promoting his interests; and though she was warmly opposed in this measure by cardinal Pole, and the rest of her council, yet, by threatening to difmifs them all, she at last succeeded. War was declared against France, and preparations were every where made for attacking that kingdom with vi-A. D. gour. An army of ten thousand men was raised, and supplied by various methods of 1557 extortion, and fent over into Flanders.

A battle gained by the Spaniards at St. Quintin feemed to promife great success to the allied arms; but foon an action, performed by the duke of Guise in the midst of winter, turned the scale in favour of France, and affected, if not the interests, at least the honour of England in the tenderest point. Calais had now for above two hundred years been in possession of the English; it had been made the chief market for wool, and other British commodities; it had been strongly fortified at different times, and was then deemed impregnable. But all the fortifications, which were raifed before gunpowder was found out, were very ill able to refift the attacks of a regular battery from cannon; and they only continued to enjoy an ancient reputation for strength, which they were very ill able to maintain. Coligny, the French general, had remarked to the duke of Guife, that as the town of Calais was surrounded by marshes, which during winter were impassible, except over a dyke guarded by two castles, St. A-

of late great winter Guife march St. Ag garrifo castle o pelled city. up the was in Went rison b an affa ment i worth lofttw ged to the Di in poss ward month kingdo pair ;

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gatha and Newnam Bridge; the English were, of late, acustomed, to save expence, to dismiss a great part of the garrison at the approach of winter, and recall them in spring. The duke of Guise upon this, made a sudden and unexpected march towards Calais, and affaulted the castle of St. Agatha with three thousand arquebusiers. The garrison was soon obliged to retreat to their other castle of Newnam Bridge, and shortly after compelled to quit that post, and to take shelter in the Mean while a small fleet was sent to block up the entrance of the harbour; and thus Calais was invested by land and sea. The governor, lord Wentworth, made a brave defence; but his garrison being very weak, they were unable to resist an affault given by the French, who made a lodgment in the castle. On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover this post; but having loft two hundred men in the attack, he was obliged to capitulate; fo that in less than eight days, the Duke of Guise recovered a city that had been in possession of the English since the time of Edward the third, and which he had spent eleven This loss filled the whole months in besieging. kingdom with murmurs, and the queen with defpair; she was heard to fay, that when dead, the name of Calais would be found engraven on her heart.

These complicated evils, a murmuring people, an increasing heresy, a disdainful husband, and an unsuccessful war, made dreadful depredations on Mary's constitution. She began to appear consumptive, and this rendered her mind still more morose and bigotted. The people now therefore began to turn their thoughts to her successor; and the princess Elizabeth came into a greater degree of consideration than before. During this whole reign

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reign the nation was in continual apprehensions with regard not only to the succession, but the life of this princess. The violent hatred of the queen broke out upon every occasion; while Elizabeth, conscious of her danger, past her time wholly in reading and study, entirely detached from business. Proposals of marriage had been made to her by the Swedish ambassador, in his master's name; but the referred him to the queen, who leaving it to her own choice, she had the magnanimity to reserve herself for better fortune. Nor was she less prudent in concealing her sentiments of religion, and in eluding all questions relative to that dangerous subject. She was obnoxious to Mary for two reasons; as she was next heir to the throne. it was feared the might aspire to it during her sifter's life time; but it was still more reasonably apprehended that she would, if ever she came to the crown, make an innovation in that religion, which Mary took such pains to establish. The bishops, who had shed such a deluge of blood, foresaw this, and often told Mary that her destroying meaner heretics was of no advantage to the state, while the body of the tree was fuffered to remain. Mary faw and acknowledged the cogency of their arguments, confined her fifter with proper guards, and only waited for some fresh insurrection, or fome favourable pretext, to destroy her. Her own death prevented the perpetration of her meditated cruelty.

Mary had been long in a very declining state of health; and having mistaken her dropsy for a pregnancy, she made use of an improper regimen, which had increased the disorder. Every reslection now tormented her. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects, the prospect of Elizabeth's succession, whom she hated, and, above

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all, her anxiety for the loss of her husband, who never intended to return: all these preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering sever, of which she died, after a short and unfortunate reign of sive years, four months, and eleven days, in the forty-third year of her age. Cardinal Pole, whose gentleness in power we have often had occasion to mention, survived her but one day. She was buried in Henry the seventh's chapel, according to the rites of the church of Rome.

Vol. III.

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CHAP. XXVI.

LIZABETH.

TIERE we to adopt the maxim of the catholics themselves, that evil may be done for the production of good, one might fay that the perfecutions in Mary's reign were permitted only to bring the kingdom more generally over to the protestant religion. Nothing could preach so effectually against the cruelty and vices of the monks, as the actions of the monks themselves. Wherever heretics were to be burnt, the monks were always present, rejoicing at the flames, infulting the fallen, and frequently the first to thrust the flaming brand against the faces of the sufferers. The English were effectually converted by fuch fights as these from their ancient superstitions. To bring the people over to any opinion, it is only necessary to persecute, instead of attempting to convince. people had formerly been compelled to embrace the protestant religion, and their fears induced them to conform; but now almost the whole nation were protestants from inclination.

Nothing, therefore, could exceed the joy that was diffused among the people upon the accession of Elizabeth, who now came to the throne without any opposition. She had been at Hatfield, when informed of her fifter's death; and, haftening up to London, was received by the multitude with universal acclamations. Elizabeth had her education in that best school, the school of adversity; and she had made the proper use of her confine-Being debarred the enjoyment of pleafures abroad, she fought for knowledge at home;

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fhe cultivated her understanding, learned the languages and sciences; but of all the arts which she acquired, that of concealing her opinions, of checking her inclinations, of displeasing none, and of learning to reign, were the most beneficial

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This virgin monarch, as fome historians have called her, upon entering the Tower according to custom, could not refrain from remarking on the difference of her present, and her former fortune, when the was fent there as a prisoner, and from whence she had so narrowly escaped. She had alfo been scarce proclaimed queen, when Philip, who had been married to Mary, but who ever testified a partiality in favour of Elizabeth, ordered his ambassador in London, the Duke of Feria, to make her propofals of marriage from his mafter. What political motives Elizabeth might have against this marriage, are not mentioned; but certain it is, that she neither liked the person, nor the religion of her admirer. She was willing at once to enjoy the pleasures of independence, and the vanity of numerous folicitations. But while these were her views, she returned him a very obliging, though evafive answer; and he still retained such hopes of success, that he sent a messenger to Rome, with orders to folicit the dispenlation.

Elizabeth had, from the beginning, resolved upon reforming the church, even while she was held in the constraints of a prison; and now, upon coming to the crown, she immediately set about it. But not to alarm the partizans of the catholic religion all at once, she retained eleven of her sister's council; and, in order to balance their authority, added eight more who where known to be affectionate to the protestant religion. Her particular adviser, however, was Sir William Cecil,

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lecretary of state, a man more earnestly employed in the business than the speculations of the times; and whose temper it was to wish for any religion that he thought would contribute to the welfare of the state. By his advice, therefore, she immediately recalled all exiles, and gave liberty to all prifoners who were confined on account of religion. She next published a proclamation, by which she forbade all preaching without a special license. She also suspended the laws so far as to have a great

part of the service to be read in Eng-A. D. lish, and forbade the host to be any more elevated in her presence. A parlia-

ment foon after completed what the prerogative had begun; act after act was passed in favour of the reformation; and in a fingle fession the form of religion was established as we at

prefent have the happiness to enjoy it.

The opposition which was made to these religious establishments was furious, but feeble. A conference, of nine doctors on each fide, was proposed and agreed to, in presence of the lord keep. They were to dispute publicly upon either fide of the question; and it was resolved that the people should hold to that which came off with the victory. Disputations of this kind never carry conviction to either party; so much is to be faid, and so wide is the field that both fides have to range in, that the strength of both is exhausted before the engagement may be properly faid to be-The conference therefore came to nothing; the catholics declared that it was not in their power to dispute a second time upon topics, on which they had gained a former victory; while the protestants, on the other side, ascribed their caution to their fears. Of nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergymen, which were the number of those in the kingpom, only fourteen bishops, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, and

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and about eighty of the parochial clergy, chose to quit their preferments rather than give up their religion. Thus England was seen to change its belief in religion four times since the beginning of the reign of Henry the eighth. "Strange, says a foreign writer, that a people so resolute, should be guilty of so much inconstancy; that the same people, who this day affished at the execution of heretics, should the next, not only think them guiltless, but conform to their systems of think-

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Elizabeth was now fixed upon a protestant throne; and had consequently all the catholic, powers of Europe her open or secret enemies. France, Scotland, the pope, and even Spain itfelf, began to think of combining against her. Her subjects of Ireland were concealed enemies; and the catholic party in England, though professing obedience, were yet ready to take the advantage of her flightest misfortunes. These were the dangers she had to fear; nor had she formed a fingle alliance to affift her, nor possessed any foreign friends that she could safely rely on. In this fituation, therefore, the could hope for no other resource but what proceeded from the affection of her own subjects, her own insight into her affairs, and the wisdom of her administration. From the beginning of her reign, she seemed to aim at two very difficult attainments; to make herself loved. by her subjects, and seared by her courtiers. resolved to be frugal of her treasury; and still more sparing in her rewards to favourites. at once kept the people in good humour; and the great too poor to shake off their independence. She also shewed, that she knew how to distribute both rewards and punishments with impartiality; that she knew when to sooth, and when to upbraid; that she could diffemble submission, but C 3 preferve.

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preserve her prerogatives. In short, she seemed to have studied the people she was born to govern, and even shewed that she knew when to flatter

their foibles to secure their affections.

Her chief minister was Robert Dudley, son to the late duke of Northumberland, whom she seemed to regard from capricious motives, as he was possessed neither of abilities nor virtue. But to make amends, the two favourites next in power, were Bacon and Cecil, men of great capacity and infinite application: they regulated the finances, and directed the political measures with foreign courts, that were afterwards followed with so much success.

A state of permanent felicity is not to be expected here; and Mary Stuart, commonly called Mary queen of Scots, was the first person that excited the fears or the resentment of Elizabeth. We have already mentioned, that Henry the feventh married his eldest daughter, Margaret, to James, king of Scotland, who dying, left no iffue that came to maturity except Mary, afterwards furnamed Queen of Scots. At a very early age, this princess being possessed of every accomplishment of person and mind, was married to Francis, the dauphin of France, who dying, left her a widow at the age of nineteen. As Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate by Henry the eighth, Francis, in right of his wife, began to assume the title of king of England; nor did the queen of Scots, his confort, feem to decline sharing in this empty appellation. But though nothing could have been more unjust than such a claim, or more unlikely to succeed, Elizabeth, knowing that such pretentions might produce troubles in England, fent an ambassador to France, complaining of the behaviour of that court in this instance. Francis. however, was not upon fuch good terms with Elizabeth

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zabeth as to forego any claims that would diffress her; and her ambassador was fent home without fatisfaction. Upon the death of Francis, Mary, the widow, still seemed disposed to keep up the title; but finding herfelf exposed to the persecutions of the dowager queen, who now began to take the lead in France, she determined to return home to Scotland, and demanded a safe passage from Elizabeth through England. But it was now Elizabeth's turn to refuse; and she sent back a very haughty answer to Mary's request. From hence a determined personal enmity began to prevail between these rival queens, which subsisted for many years after, until at last the superior for-

tune of Elizabeth prevailed.

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As the transactions of this unfortunate queen make a distinguished part in Elizabeth's history, it will be necessary to give them greater room than I have hitherto given to the occurences of Scotland. The reformation in England having taken place, in Scotland, also, that work was begun, but with circumstances of greater animosity against their ancient superstitions. The mutual resentment which either party, in that kingdom, bore to each other, knew no bounds; and a civil war was likely to end the dispute. It was in this divided state of the people, that Elizabeth, by giving encouragement to the reformers, gained over their affections from their natural queen, who was a catholic, and who consequently favoured those of that persuasion. Thus religion at last effected a sincere friendship between the English and Scotch, which neither treaties, nor marriages, nor the vicinity of fituation, was able to produce. The reformers, to a man, considered Elizabeth as their patroness and defender, and Mary as their perfecutor and enemy.

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It was in this fituation of things, that Mary returned from France to reign at home in Scotland, entirely attached to the customs and manners of the people she left; and consequently very averse to the gloomy severity which her reformed subjects affected, and which they fancied made a proper ingredient in religion. A difference in religion between the fovereign and the people is ever productive of bad effects; fince it is apt to produce contempt on the one fide, and jealoufy on the other. Mary could not avoid regarding the four manners of the reformed clergy, who now bore fway among the people, without a mixture of ridicule and hatred; while they, on the other hand, could not look tamely on the gaieties and levities which the introduced among them, without abhorrence and resentment. The jealousy thus excited, began every day to grow stronger; the clergy waited only for some indiscretion in the queen to fly out into open opposition; and her indifcretion but too foon gave them fufficient opportuni-

After two years had been spent in altercation and reproach, between Mary and her subjects, it was resolved upon at last by her council, that she should look out for some alliance, by which she might be sheltered and protected against the info-

lence and misguided zeal of her spiritual A. D. instructors. After some deliberation, the lord Darnley, son to the earl of Le-

nox, was the person in whom their opinions and withes centered. He had been born and educated in England, was now in his twentieth year, was cousin-german to the queen; and what perhaps the might admire still more, he was extremely tall. Elizabeth was fecretly no way averse to this marriage, as it freed her from the dread of a foreign alliance; but when informed that it the pi mena earl o count duplic Eliza her as fuccef

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that it was actually concluded and consummated, the pretended to testify the utmost displeasure; she menaced, complained, protested; seized all the earl of Lenox's English estate, and threw the countess and her second son into the Tower. This duplicity of conduct was common enough with Elizabeth; and on the present occasion, it served her as a pretext for refusing Mary's title to the succession of England, which that princess had

frequently urged, but in vain.

But notwithstanding Elizabeth's complaints and refentment, Mary was refolved to indulge her own inclinations, and, struck with the beauty of Darnley's figure, the match was driven forward with all expedition; and some of the first weeks of their connexion feemed to promife an happy union for the rest of their lives. However, it was not without some opposition from the reformers that this marriage was completed. It was agitated, whiether the queen could marry without the confent of the people? Some lords rose up in arms to prevent it; but being pursued by a superior force, they found themselves obliged to abandon their country, and take refuge in England. Thus far all was favourable to Mary; and thus far she kept within the bounds of strict virtue. Her enemies were banished, her rival over-ruled, and she herself married to the man she loved.

While Mary had been dazzled by the pleafing exterior of her new lover, the had entirely forgot to look to the accomplishments of his mind. Darnley was but a weak and ignorant man; violent, yet variable in his enterprizes; infolent, yet credulous, and eafily governed by flatterers; devoid of all gratitude, because he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleasures, he was equally incapable of all true sentiments of love and tenderness. Mary, in the first effusions

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of her fondness, had taken a pleasure in exalting him beyond measure; but having leisure afterwards to remark his weakness and his vices, she began to convert her admiration into disgust; and Darnley, enraged at her increasing coldness, pointed his vengeance against every person he esteemed the cause of this change in her sentiments and behaviour.

There was then in the court one David Rizzio, the fon of a mufician at Turin, himself a musician, who finding it difficult to subsist by his art in his own country, had followed the ambaffador from that court into Scotland. As he understood music to perfection, and sung a good bass, he was introduced into the queen's concert, who was fo taken with him, that she defired the ambassador. upon his departure, to leave Rizzio behind. The excellence of his voice foon procured him greater familiarities; and although he was by no means. handsome, but rather ugly, the queen seemed to place peculiar confidence in him, and ever kept him next her person. Her secretary for French dispatches having some time after fallen under her displeasure, she promoted Rizzio to that office, who, being fhrewd, fenfible, and aspiring beyond his rank, foon after began to entertain hopes of being promoted to the important office of chancellor of the kingdom. He was consulted on all occasions; no favours could be obtained but by his intercession, and all suitors were first obliged to gain Rizzio to their interests, by presents, or by flattery. It was easy to prevail upon a man of Darnley's jealous uxorious temper, that Rizzio was the person who had estranged the queen's affections from him; and a furmife once conceived became to him a certainty. He foon therefore consulted with some lords of his party, stung as he was with envy, rage, and refentment; and they

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not only fanned the conflagration in his mind, but offered their assistance to dispatch Rizzio. George Douglas, natural brother to the countess of Lenox, the lords Ruthven and Lindsey, settled the circumstances of this poor creature's assassination among them; and determined that, as a punishment for the queen's indifcretions, the murder should be committed in her presence. Mary was at this time in the fixth month of her pregnancy, and was then supping in private, at table with the countess of Argyle, her natural fifter, some other servants, and her favourite Rizzio. Lord Darnley led the way into the apartment by a private stair-case, and stood for some time leaning at the back of Mary's chair. His fierce looks and unexpected intrusion greatly alarmed the queen, who, nevertheless, kept filence, not daring to call out. A little after lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and the other conspirators, rushed in, all armed, and shewing in their looks the brutality of their intentions. queen could no longer restrain her terrors, but demanded the reason of this bold intrusion. Ruthven made her no answer; but ordered Rizzio to quit a place of which he was unworthy. Rizzio now faw that he was the object of their vengeance; and trembling with apprehension took hold of the queen's robes to put himself under her protection, who, on her part, strove to interpose between the affassins and him. Douglas, in the mean time, had reached the unfortunate Rizzio; and fnatching a dagger from the king's fide, while the queen filled the room with her cries, plunged it in her presence into Rizzio's bosom, who, screaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conspirators, and dragged into the antichamber, where he was dispatched with nfty-fix wounds. The unhappy princess continued her lamentations; but being informed of his fate, at

once dried her tears, and faid she would weep no more, for she would now think of revenge. infult indeed upon her person and honour, and the danger to which her life was exposed on account of her pregnancy, were injuries fo atrocious and fo complicated, that they scarce left room for pardon.

This act of violence was only to be punished by temporizing; she pretended to forgive so great a crime; and exerted the force of her natural allurements fo powerfully, that her husband submitted implicitly to her will. He foon gave up his accomplices to her refentment, and retired with her to Dunbar, while the, having collected an army, which the conspirators had no power to refift, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and distress. They made application, however, to the earl of Bothwell, a new favourite of Mary's; and that nobleman, desirous to strengthen his party by the accession of their interest, was able to pacify her refentment, and he foon after procured them liberty to return home.

The vengeance of the queen was implacable to her husband alone; his person was before disagreeable to her; and having persuaded him to give up his accomplices, the treated him with merited difdain and indignation. But it were well for her character and happiness had she rested only in despifing; the fecretly resolved on a severer revenge. The earl Bothwell, who was now become her favourite, was of a confiderable family in Scotland: and though not distinguished by any talents, civil or military, yet he made fome noise in the diffenfions of the state, and was an opposer of the reformation. He was a man of profligate manners, had involved his fortune in great debts, and had reduced himself to beggary by his profusion. This nobleman, notwithstanding, had ingratiated him-

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felf fo far with the queen, that all her measures were entirely directed by his advice and authority. Reports were even spread of more particular intimacies; and these gave such uneafiness to Darnley, that he left the court, and retired to Glasgow, to be no longer a spectator of her excesses. But this was not what the queen aimed at; the was determined upon more ample punishment. Shortly after, all those who wished well to her character, or repose to their country, were extremely pleased, and somewhat surprised, to hear that her tenderness for her husband was revived; and that the had taken a journey to visit him, during his fickness there. Darnley was so far allured by her behaviour on this occasion, that he resolved to part with her no more; he put himself under her protection, and foon after attended her to Edinburgh, which it was thought would be a place more favourable to his declining health. She lived in the palace of Holyrood-house; but as the fituation of that place was low, and the concourse of persons about the court necessarily attended with noise, which might diffurb him in his present infirm state, she fitted up an apartment for him in a solitary house at some distance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary there gave him marks of kindness and attachment; the converfed cordially with him, and she lay some nights in a room under him. It was on the ninth of February that she told him the would pass that night in the palace, because the marriage of one of her fervants was to be there celebrated in her presence. But dreadful consequences enfued. About two o'clock in the morning the whole city was much alarmed at hearing a great noise; the house in which Darnley lay was blown up with gun-powder. His dead body was found at some distance in a neighbouring field, but without any marks of violence or contution. doubt

doubt could be entertained but that Darnley was murdered; and the general suspicion fell upon

Bothwell as the perpetrator.

All orders of the state, and the whole body of the people, began to demand justice on the supposed murderer; the queen herself was not entirely exempt from the general fuspicion; and papers were privately fluck up every where, accusing her of being an accomplice. Mary, more folicitous to punish others than defend herself, offered rewards for the discovery of those who had spread fuch reports; but no rewards were offered for the discovery of the murderers. One indiscretion led on to another; Bothwell, though accused of being stained with her husband's blood, though univerfally odious to the people, had the confidence, while Mary was on her way to Stirling, on a vifit to her fon, to feize her at the head of a body of eight hundred horse, and to carry her to Dunbar, where he forced her to yield to his purposes. It was then thought by the people that the measure of his crimes was complete; and that he who was supposed to kill the queen's husband, and to have offered violence to her person, could expect no mercy; but they were aftonished upon finding, instead of disgrace, that Bothwell was taken into more than former favour; and, to crown all, that he was married to the queen, having divorced his own wife to procure this union.

This was a fatal alliance to Mary; and the people were now wound up by the complication of her guilt, to pay very little deference to her authority. The protestant teachers, who had great power, had long borne great animosity towards her; the opinion of her guilt was by that means more widely diffused, and made the deeper impression. The principal nobility met at Stirling; and an affociation was soon formed for protecting the young prince,

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prince, and punishing the king's murderers. Lord Hume was the first in arms; and leading a body of eight hundred horse, suddenly environed the queen and Bothwell, in the castle of Borthwick. found means, however, to make their escape; and Bothwell, at the head of a few forces, meeting the affociators within about fix miles of Edinburgh. was obliged to capitulate, while Mary was conducted by the prevailing party into Edinburgh, amidst the insults and reproaches of the populace. From thence the was fent a prisoner to the castle of Lochlevin, fituated in a lake of that name, where the fuffered all the feverities of an unkind keeper, and an upbraiding conscience, with a feeling heart. Bothwell, however, was more fortunate; he fled during the conference, unattended, to Dunbar, where fitting out a few small ships, he fublished among the Orkneys for some time by piracy. Being purfued thither, and his domestics taken, who made a full discovery of his crimes, he escaped himself in an open boat to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died miserably about ten years afterwards.

In this fituation, Mary was not entirely without protection and friends. Queen Elizabeth, who now faw her rival entirely humbled, began to relent; the was feen to reflect on the precarious state of royal grandeur, and the danger of encouraging rebellious subjects; she, therefore, fent Sir Nichoals Throgmorton as her ambassador to Scotland, to interpose in her behalf; but the affociated lords thought proper to deny him, after several affected delays, all access to Mary's person. However, though he could not confer with her, he procured her the best terms with the rebellious lords that he could, which was, that she should resign the crown in favour of her fon, who was as yet a minor; that she should appoint the earl of Murray, who had had from the beginning testified an hatred to lord Darnley, as regent of the kingdom; and as he was then in France, that she should appoint a council till his arrival. Mary could not think of resigning all power without a plentiful essuant to her, even without inspection. In consequence of this forced resignation, the young prince was proclaimed king, under the title of James the sixth. The queen had now no hopes but from the kindness of the earl of Murray; but even here she was disappointed; the earl, upon his return, instead of comforting her, as she expected, loaded her with reproaches, which reduced her almost to despair.

The calamities of the great, even though justly deserved, seldom fail of creating pity, and procuring friends. Mary, by her charms and promises, had engaged a young gentleman, whose name was. George Douglas, to assist her in escaping from the place where she was confined: and this he effected, by conveying her in disguise in a small boat, rowed by himself, ashore. It was now that the news of her enlargement being spread abroad, all the loyalty of the people seemed to revive once more. As Bothwell was no longer associated in her cause, many of the nobility, who expected to succeed him in favour, signed a bond of association for her desence; and in a few days she saw herself at the

The earl of Murray, who had been declared regent, was not flow in affembling his forces; and although his army was inferior to that of the queen of Scots, he boldly took the field against her. A battle was fought at Langside, near Glasgow, which was entirely decisive in his favour; and he seemed to merit victory by his elemency after the action.

A. D. Mary, now totally ruined, fled fouthwards from the field of battle with great precipitation; and came with a few attendants to

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the borders of England, where she hoped for protection from Elizabeth, who had upon some re-

cent occasions declared in her favour.

With these hopes she embarked on board a fishing boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Wirkington in Cumberland, about thirty miles distant from Carlisle, whence she immediately dispatched a messenger to London, craving protection, and defiring liberty to vifit the queen. Elizabeth being informed of her misfortunes and retreat, deliberated for some time upon the proper methods of proceeding, and refolved at last to act in a friendly, yet cautious manner. She immediately fent orders to lady Scrope, fifter to the duke of Norfolk, a lady who lived in that neighbourhood, to attend on the queen of Scots; and foon after dispatched lord Scrope himself, and fir Francis Knolles, to pay her all possible respect. Notwithstanding these marks of distinction, the queen refused to admit Mary into her presence, until she had cleared her character from the many foul aspersions that it was stained with. It might, perhaps, have been Elizabeth's duty to protect, and not to examine, her royal fugitive. However, the acted entirely under the direction of her council, who observed, that if the crimes of the Scottish princess were really so great as they were represented, the treating her with friendship would but give them a fanction; if the was found guiltless upon trial, every enterprize, which friendship should inspire in her defence, would be considered as laudable and glorious.

Mary was now, though reluctantly, obliged to admit her ancient rival as an umpire in her cause; and the accusation was readily undertaken by Murray the regent, who expected to remove so powerful an assistant as Elizabeth, by the attrociousness of Mary's offences. This extraordinary

conterence,

conference, which deliberated on the conduct of a foreign queen, was managed at York; three commissioners being appointed by Elizabeth, nine by the queen of Scots, and five by the regent, in which he himself was included. These conferences were carried on for fome time at the place first appointed; but after a while, Elizabeth, either unwilling to decide, as the would thus give up the power she was now possessed of, or perhaps defirous of throwing all light possible upon Mary's conduct, ordered the commissioners to continue their conferences at Hampton-court, where they were spun out by affected delays. Whatever might have been the cause of protracting this conference in the beginning is not known; but many of the proofs of Mary's guilt, which were suppressed at York, made their appearance before the board at Hampton. Among other proofs, were many letters and sonnets written in Mary's own hand to Bothwell, in which the difcovers her know. ledge of Darnley's intended murder, and her contrivance to marry Bothwell, by pretending a forced compliance. These papers, it must be owned, are not free themselves from suspicion of being a forgery; yet the reasons for their authenticity seem to prevail. However this be, the proofs of Mary's guilt appearing stronger, it was thought proper to engage her advocates to give answers to them; but they, contrary to expectation, refused, alledging, that as Mary was a fovereign princels, the could not be subject to any tribunal, not confidering that the aim of this conference was not punishment, but reconciliation; that it was not to try Mary, in order to inflict penalties, but to know whether she was worthy of Elizabeth's friendship and protection. Instead of attempting

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to justify her conduct, the queen of Scots laboured nothing so much as to obtain an interview with Elizabeth; conscious that her infinuations, arts, and address, of all which she was a persect mistress, would be sufficient to persuade her royal fifter and stand in place of innocence. But as she still persisted in a resolution to make no defence,

this demand was finally refused her.

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She still, however, persisted in demanding Elizabeth's protection; the defired that either the should be affisted in her endeavours to recover her authority, or that liberty should be given her for retiring into France, there to make trial of the friendship of other princes. But Elizabeth, senfible of the danger which attended either of these proposals, was secretly resolved to detain her still in captivity, and the was accordingly fent to Tutbury castle, in the county of Stafford, where she was put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury; there she gave her royal prisoner hopes of one day coming into favour, and that unless her own obstinacy prevented, an accommodation might at last take place.

But this unhappy woman was fated to nothing but misfortunes; and those hopes of accommodation which the had been given to expect, were still put off by some finister accident. The factions of her own subjects in Scotland tended not a little to alarm the jealoufy of Elizabeth, and increase the rigours of Mary's confinement. The regent of Scotland, who had been long her inveterate enemy, happening to be affaffinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, upon his death the kingdom relapsed into its former anarchy. Mary's party once more affembled themselves together, and became masters of Edinburgh. They even ventured towards the borders of England, where they committed some disorders, which called upon the vigilance of Elizabeth to suppress. She quickly sent an army commanded by the earl of Sussex, who entering Scotland, principally chastised all the partizans of the captive queen, under a pretence that they had offended his mistress by harbouring English rebels.

But the defigns and arts of Elizabeth did not rest here; while she kept up the most friendly correspondence with Mary, and the most warm protestations of sincerity passed between them, she was far from either assisting her cause, or yet from rendering it desperate. It was her interest to keep the factions in Scotland still alive, to weaken the power of that restless and troublesome nation; for this purpose she weakened the party of the queen, that had now promised to prevail, by tedious negotiations; and in the mean time procured the earl of Lenox to be appointed regent, in the room of Murray who was slain.

This attempt, which promifed to be favourable to Mary, proved thus unfuccessful, as well as another, which was concerted near the place of her captivity. The duke of Norfolk was the only peer who enjoyed that highest title of nobility in

England; and the qualities of his mind. D. corresponded to his high station. Bene-

1568. ficent, affable, and generous, he had acquired the affections of the people; and yet from his moderation, he had never alarmed the jealousy of the sovereign. He was at this time a widower, and being of a suitable age to espouse the queen of Scots, her own attractions, as well as his interests, made him desirous of the match. But the obtaining Elizabeth's consent, previous to their nuptials, was considered as a circumstance essential to his aims. But while this nobleman made almost all the nobility of England considerts

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to his passion, he never had the prudence, or the courage, to open his full intentions to the queen herself. On the contrary, in order to suppress the furmifes that were currently reported, he spoke contemptuously of Mary to Elizabeth; affirmed that his estates in England were of more value than the revenue of the whole kingdom; and declared, that when he amused himself in his own tenniscourt at Norwich, he was a more magnificent prince than a Scottish king. This duplicity only ferved to enflame the queen's suspicions the more; and finding that the gave his professions no great degree of credit, he retired from the court in difguit. Repenting, however, foon after of this measure, he was resolved to return, with a view of regaining the queen's good graces; but on the way, he was stopt by a messenger from the queen, and foon committed to the Tower under the custody of Sir Henry Nevil.

But the duke of Norfolk was too much beloved by his partizans in the North, to be confined without an effort made for his release. The earls of Westmorland and Northumberland had prepared measures for a rebellion; had communicated their defign to Mary and her ministers; had entered into a correspondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low-Countries, and had obtained his promise of men and ammunition. But the vigilance of Elizabeth's ministers was not to be eluded; orders were immediately fent for their appearance at court, and now the infurgent lords perceiving their schemes discovered, were obliged to begin their revolt before matters were entirely prepared for its opening. They accordingly published a manifesto, in which they alledged, that no injury was intended against the queen, to whom they avowed unshaken allegiance; but that their fole aim was to re-establish the religion

of their ancestors, to remove all evil counsellors from about the queen's person; and to restore the duke of Norfolk to his liberty and the queen's fa-Their number amounted to four thousand foot, and fixteen hundred horse; and they expected to be joined by all the catholics in England. But they foon found themselves miserably undeceived; the queen's conduct had acquired the general good will of the people, and she now perceived that her furest support was the justice of her actions. The duke of Norfolk himself, for whose fake they had revolted, used every method that his circumstances would permit, to assist and support the queen; the infurgents were obliged to retire before her forces to Hexham; and hearing that reinforcements were upon their march to join the royal army, they found no other expedient but to disperse themselves without a blow. Northumberland fled into Scotland, and was confined by the regent to the castle of Lochlevin; Westmorland, after attempting to excite the Scotch to revolt, was obliged to escape into Flanders, where he found protection. This rebellion was followed by another, led on by lord Dacres, but with as little fuccess. Some severities were used against these revolters, and it is faid, that no less than eight suffered by the hands of the executioner on this occasion. The queen was so well pleased with the duke of Norfolk's behaviour,

A. D. that the now released him from the Tower; allowed him to return home, only exacting a promise from him, not to proceed any farther in his pretentions to the

queen of Scots.

But the queen's confidence was fatal to this brave, but undefigning nobleman. He had not been released above a year, when new projects were let on foot by the enemies of the queen and

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the reformed religion, secretly fomented by Rodolphi, an instrument of the court of Rome, and the bishop of Ross, Mary's minister in England. It was concerted by them, that Norfolk should renew his defigns upon Mary, to which it is probable he was prompted by passion; and this nobleman entering into their schemes, he, from being at first only ambitious, now became criminal. It was mutually agreed, therefore, that the duke should enter into all Mary's interests; while on the other hand, the duke of Alva promifed to transport a body of fix thousand foot, and four thousand horse, to join Norfolk as soon as he should be ready to begin. This scheme was so fecretly laid, that it had hitherto entirely escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of fecretary Cecil, who now bore the title of lord Burleigh. It was found out merely by accident; for the duke having fent a fum of money to lord Herreis, one of Mary's partizans in Scotland, omitted trusting the fervant with the contents of his message; and he finding, by the weight of the bag, that it contained a larger fum than the duke mentioned to him, began to mistrust some plot, and brought the money, with the duke's letter, to the fecretary of state. It was by the artifices of that great statesman, that the duke's fervants were brought to make a full confession of their master's guilt; and the bishop of Ross soon after, finding the whole discovered, did not scruple to confirm their testimony. The duke was instantly committed to the Tower, and ordered to prepare for his trial. A jury of twenty-five peers unanimously passed sentence upon him; and the queen, four months after, reluctantly figned the warrant for his execution. He died with great calmness and constancy; and though he cleared himself of any disloyal intentions against the queen's authority, he acknowledg-

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ed the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. A few months after, the duke of Northumber-land being delivered up by the regent, underwent a similar trial, and was brought to the scaffold for his rebellion. All these ineffectual struggles in savour of the unfortunate queen of Scots, seemed only to rivet the chains of her confinement; and she now found relief only in the resources of her own mind, which distress had contributed to soften, refine, and improve. From henceforth she continued for several years a precarious dependent on Elizabeth's suspicions; and only waited for some new effort of her adherents to receive that state, which political, and not merciful motives seemed to prolong.

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Vol. III.

ELIZABETH (Continued.)

AVING thus far attended the queen of Scotland, whose conduct and misfortunes make such a distinguished figure in this reign, we now return to some transactions, prior in point of time, but of less consideration.

In the beginning of this reign, the Hugonots, or reformed party in France, were obliged to call in the protection of the Eng- A. D. lish; and in order to secure their consistence as they were possessed of the great-

dence, as they were possessed of the greatest part of Normandy, they offered to put Havre into the queen's hands, a proffer which she immediately accepted. She wifely confidered, that as that port commanded the mouth of the river Seine, it was of much more importance than Calais; and she could thus have the French still in her power. Accordingly three thousand English took poffession of Havre and Dieppe, under the command of Sir Edward Poinings, but the latter place was found so little capable of being defended, that it was immediately abandoned. But Havre itself was obliged to capitulate shortly after. Although the garrison was reinforced, and was found to amount to fix thousand men; and every means was employed for putting the town in a posture of defence against the French army that was preparing to beliege it, yet it felt a feverer enemy within its walls; for the plague had got into the town, and committed fuch havock among the foldiers, that an hundred were commonly feen to die of it in one day. The garrison, being three dispirited and diminished to fifteen hundred mei

finding the French army indefatigable in their approaches, were obliged to capitulate; and thus the English lost all hopes of ever making another establishment in the kingdom of France. This misfortune was productive of one still more dreadful to the nation, for the English army carried back the plague with them to London, which made such ravages, that twenty thousand persons died there in one year.

This, if we except the troubles raised

upon the account of Mary, seems to have been the only difaster that, for above thirteen years, any way contributed to disturb the peace of this reign. Elizabeth, ever vigilant, active, and resolute, attended to the flightest alarms, and repressed them before they were capable of producing their effect. Her frugality kept her independent, and her diffimulation (for the could diffemble) made her beloved. The opinion of the royal prerogative was such, that her commands were obeyed as statutes; and the took care that her parliaments should never venture to circumscribe her power. In her schemes of government she was assisted by lord Burleigh, and Sir Anthony Bacon, two of the most able ministers that ever directed the affairs of England; but while the committed to them all the drudgery of duty, her favourite Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, engrossed all her favour, and secured all the avenues to preferment. All requefts were made through him; and nothing given away without his confent and approbation. His merits, however, were by no means adequate to his fuccesses; he was weak, vain, and boastful; but these qualities did no injury to the state, as his two co-adjutors were willing, while he maintained all the splendour of office, to secure to themfelves the more folid emoluments.

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During this peaceable and uniform government, England furnishes but few materials for history. While France was torn with internal convulsions: while above ten thousand of the Hugonots were maffacred in one night, in cool blood, on the feast of St. Bartholemew, at Paris, while the inhabibitants of the Low Countries had shaken off the Spanish yoke, and were bravely vindicating their rights and their religion; while all the rest of Europe was teeming with plots, feditions, and cruelty; the English, under their wife queen, were enjoying all the benefits of peace, extending commerce, improving manufactures; and fetting an example of arts and learning to all the rest of the Except the small part, therefore, which Elizabeth took in foreign transactions, there fearce passed any occurrence which requires a particular detail.

There had for some time arisen disgusts between the court of England and that of Spain. Elizabeth's having rejected the suit of Philip, might probably have given rife to these distrusts; and after that, Mary's claiming the protection of that monarch, tended still more to widen the breach. This began, as usual on each fide, with petty hostilities; the Spaniards, on their part, had fent into Ireland a body of feven hundred of their nation, and Italians, who built a fort there; but were foon after cut off to a man, by the duke of Ormond. On the other hand the English, under the conduct of Sir Francis Drake, affaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themselves most secure, in the New This was the first Englishman that sailed round the globe; and the queen was so well pleased with his valour and fuccess, that the accepted a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ship which had atchieved fo memorable a voyage.

In this manner, while hostilities were daily multiplying between Spain and England, and while the power of Spain, as well as the monarch's inclinations, were very formidable to the queen, the began to look out for an alliance that might support her against such a dangerous adversary. duke of Anjou had long made pretentions to Elizabeth; and though the was near twenty-five years older than he, he took the resolution to prefer his fuit in person, and paid her a visit in secret at Greenwich. It appears, that though his figure was not advantageous, his address was pleasing. The queen ordered her ministers to fix the terms of the contract; a day was appointed for the folemnization of their nuptials, and every thing feemed to fpeak an approaching union. But Elizabeth could not be induced, as that event appeared to approach, to change her condition; she appeared doubtful, irrefolute, and melancholy; she was observed to pass several nights without any fleep, till at last her settled habits of prudence prevailed over her ambition, and the duke of Anjou was dismissed.

The queen thus depriving herself of a foreign ally, looked for approbation and affiftance from her own subjects at home. Yet even here she was not without numberless enemies, who either hated her for religion, or envied her for success. There were feveral conspiracies formed against her life, many of which were imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots, at least it is certain that her name was used in all. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, brother to him beheaded some years before, and Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, son to the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under suspicion; and the latter was, by order of council, confined to his own house. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, was committed

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mitted to custody, on account of a letter which he had written to the queen of Scots; and shortly after confessing his guilt, he was condemned and executed. Soon after William Parry, a catholic gentleman, who had on a former occasion received the queen's pardon, was found engaged in a defperate conspiracy to affassinate his sovereign and benefactor. He had confulted upon the justice and expediency of this vile measure both with the pope's nuncio and legate, who exhorted him to persevere in his resolution, and extremely applauded his defign. He, therefore, affociated himself with one Nevil, who entered zealoufly into the defign; and it was determined to shoot the queen, while the was taking the air on horseback. But while they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpose, the earl of Westmorland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to the family, he began to entertain hopes, that by doing some acceptable service to the queen, he might recover the estate and honours which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the He betrayed the whole conspiracy to last earl. the ministers; and Parry being thrown into prison confessed the guilt both to them, and to the jury who tried him. He was shortly after condemned and executed.

These attempts, which were entirely set on soot by the catholic party, served to increase the severity of the laws against them. Popish priests were banished the kingdom; those who harboured or relieved them were declared guilty of selony; and many were executed in consequence of this severe edict. Nor was the queen of Scots herself without some share of the punishment. She was removed from under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury, who had always been indulgent

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to his prisoner, particularly with regard to air and exercise; and she was committed to the custody of Sir Amias Paulett, and Sir Drue Drury, men of honour, but inflexible and rigid in their care and attention.

These conspiracies served to prepare the way for Mary's ruin, whose greatest misfortunes proceeded rather from the violence of her friends, than the malignity of her enemies. Elizabeth's ministers had long been waiting for some signal instance of the captive queen's enmity, which they could eafily convert into treason; and this was not long wanting. About this time one John Ballard, a popish priest, who had been bred in the English seminary at Rheims, resolved to compass the death of a queen, whom he considered as the enemy of his religion; and with that gloomy resolution came over into England in the difguise of a soldier, with the assumed name of captain Fortescue. He bent his endeavours to bring about at once the project of an affaffination, an infurrection, and an invasion. The first person he addressed himself to was Anthony Babington, of Dethick, in the county of Derby, a young gentleman of good family, and possessed of a very plentiful fortune. This person had been long remarkable for his zeal in the catholic cause, and in particular for his attachment to the captive queen. He therefore came readily into the plot, and procured the concurrence and affiftance of fome other affociates in this dangerous undertaking. Barnwell, a gentleman of a noble family in Ireland, Charnock, a gentleman of Lancathire, Abington, whose father had been cofferer to the houshold, and, chief of all, John Savage, a man of desperate fortunes, who had served in the Low-Countries, and came into England under a vow to

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desire any associate in the bold enterprize, and refused for some time to permit any to share with
him in what he esteemed his greatest glory. He
challenged the whole to himself; and it was with
some difficulty that he was induced to depart from
his preposterous ambition. The next step was
to apprize Mary of the conspiracy formed in her
favour; and this they effected by conveying their
letters to her by means of a brewer that supplied
the family with ale, through a chink, in the wall
of her apartment. In these, Babington informed
her of a design laid for a foreign invasion, the
plan of an insurrection at home, the scheme for
her delivery, and the conspiracy for assassing
the usurper by six noble gentlemen, as he termed

the zeal which they bore the catholic cause, and her majesty's service, would undertake the tragical execution. To these Mary replied, that she approved highly of the design; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it should

them, all of them his private friends, who, from

be ever in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, pre-

vious to any further attempts either for her deli-

very, or the intended infurrection...

Such was the scheme laid by the conspirators; and nothing seemed so certain as its secrecy and its success. But they were all miserably deceived; the active and sagacious ministers of Elizabeth were privy to it in every stage of its growth, and only retarded their discovery till the meditated guilt was ripe for punishment and conviction. Ballard was actually attended by one Maude, a catholic priest, who was a spy in pay with Walsingham, secretary of state. One Polly, another of his spies, had sound means to infinuate himself among the conspirators, and to give an exact account of their proceedings.

proceedings. Soon after one Giffard a priest came over, and discovering the whole conspiracy to the bottom, made a tender of his service to Walfingham. It was he that procured the letters to be conveyed thro' the wall to the queen, and received her answers; but he had always taken care to shew them to the secretary of state, who had them

deciphered, and took copies of them all.

The plot being thus ripe for execution, and the evidence against the conspirators incontestible, Walfingham refolved to suspend their punishment no longer. A warrant was accordingly issued out for the apprehending of Ballard; and this giving the alarm to Babington, and the rest of the confpirators, they covered themselves with various disguises, and endeavoured to keep themselves concealed. But they were foon discovered, thrown into prison, and brought to trial. In their examination they contradicted each other, and the leaders were obliged to make a full confession of the truth. Fourteen were condemned and executed, seven of whom died acknowledging their crime.

The execution of these wretched men only prepared the way for one of still greater importance, in which a captive queen was to submit to the unjust decisions of those who had no right, but that of power, to condemn her. Though all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conspiracy, every avenue to the unfortunate Mary was fo strictly guarded, that she remained in utter ignorance of the whole matter. But her aftonishment was equal to her anguish, when fir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's order, came to inform her of the fate of her unhappy confederates. She was at that time mounted on horfe-back, going a-hunting; and was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but conducted from

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one gentleman's house to another, till she was lodged in Fotheringay castle, in Northamptonshire, where the last scene of her miserable tragedy was to conclude.

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The council of England was divided in opinion about the measures to be taken against the queen of Scots. Some members proposed, that as her health was very infirm, her life might be shortened by close confinement; therefore to avoid any imputation of violence or cruelty, the earl of Leicester proposed that she should be dispatched by poison; but the majority insisted on her being put to death by legal process. Accordingly a commission was issued to forty peers, with five judges, or the major part of them, to try and pass sentence upon Mary, daughter and heir of James the fifth, king of Scotland, commonly called queen of Scots and dowager of France.

Thirty fix of these commissioners arriving at the castle of Fotheringay, presented her with a letter from Elizabeth, commanding her to submit to a trial for her late conspiracy.

1586.

Mary perused the letter with great composure; and as the had long foreseen the danger that hung over her, received the intelligence without emotion or aftonishment. She said, however, that she wondered the queen of England should command her as a subject, who was an independent sovereign, and a queen like herfelf. She would never, the faid, stoop to any condescension which would lessen her dignity, or prejudice the claims of her The laws of England, she observed, posterity. were unknown to her; the was destitute of counlel; nor could she conceive who were to be her peers, as she had but one equal in the kingdom. She added, that instead of enjoying the protection of the laws of England, as the had hoped to obtain, she had been confined in prison ever since

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her arrival in the kingdom; so that she derived neither benefit nor fecurity from them. When the commissioners pressed her to submit to the queen's pleasure, otherwise they would proceed against her as contumacious, she declared she would rather fuffer a thousand deaths, than own herself a subject to any prince on earth. That, however, the was ready to vindicate herself in a full and free parliament, as for aught the knew, this meeting of commissioners was devised against her life, on purpose to take it away with a pretext of justice. She exhorted them to consult their own consciences, and to remember that the theatre of the world was much more extensive than that of the kingdom of England. At length, the vice-chamberlain Hatton vanquished her objections, by reprefenting that she injured her reputation by avoiding a trial, in which her innocence might be proved to the satisfaction of all mankind. This observation made such an impression upon her, that she agreed to plead, if they would admit and allow her protest, of disallowing all subjection. This, however, they refused; but they fatisfied her, by entering it upon record, and thus they proceeded to a trial.

The principal charge against her was urged by serjeant Gaudy, who accused her with knowing, approving, and consenting to Babington's conspiracy. This charge was supported by Babington's confession, by the copies which were taken of their correspondence, in which her approbation of the queen's murder was expressly declared, by the evidence of her own two secretaries, Nauè, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scotchman, who swore that she received Babington's letters, and that they had answered them by her orders. These were still further confirmed by the testimony of Ballard and Savage, to whom Babington had shewn

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these letters, declaring them to have come from the captive queen. To these charges Mary made a fensible and resolute defence; she said Babington's confession was extorted from his fears of the torture, which was really the case; she alledged, that the letters were forgeries; and she defied her fecretaries to perfift in their evidence, if brought into her presence. She owned, indeed, that she had used her best endeavours to recover her liberty, which was only pursuing the dictates of nature; but as for harbouring a thought against the life of the queen, the treated the idea with horror. During the course of the trial, as a letter between Mary and Babington was reading, mention was made in it of the earl of Arundel and his brothers. On hearing their names the fined a flood of tears. exclaiming, Alas! what hath the noble house of the Howards endured for my fake! She took occasion also to observe, that his letter might have been a base contrivance of Walsingham's, who had frequently practifed both against her life and her son's. Walfingham thus accused rose up, and protested that his heart was free from malice; that he had never done any thing unbecoming an honest man in his private capacity, nor aught unworthy of the place he occupied in the state. Mary declared herself satisfied of his innocence, and begged he would give as little credit to the malicious accusations of her enemies, as she now gave to the reports which she had heard to his preju-

Whatever might have been this queen's offences, it is certain that her treatment was very levere. She defired to be put in possession of such notes as she had taken preparative to her trial; but this was refused her. She demanded a copy of her protest; but her request was not complied with; she even required an advocate to plead her

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cause against so many learned lawyers, as had undertaken to urge her accusations, but all her demands were rejected; and, after an adjournment of some days, sentence of death was pronounced against her in the Star-chamber in Westminster, all the commissioners, except two, being present. At the same time a declaration was published by the commissioners, implying, that the sentence against her did no wise derogate from the title and honour of James, king of Scotland, son to the attainted queen.

Though the condemning a fovereign Oct. 20. princess at a tribunal to which she owed 1586. no subjection, was an injustice that must strike the most inattentive, yet the parliament of England, who met four days after, did not fail to approve the sentence, and to go still farther, in presenting an address to the queen, defiring that it might speedily be put into execution. But Elizabeth still possessed, or pretended to possess; an horror for such precipitate severity. She entreated them to find some expedient to save her from the necessity of taking a step fo repugnant to her inclination. But at the same time she seemed to dread another conspiracy to aslaffinate her within a month, which probably was only an artifice of her ministers to increase her apprehensions, and consequently her defire of being rid of a rival, that had given her so much distur-The parliament, however, reiterated their iolicitations, arguments, and entreaties; and even remonstrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them, her fubjects, and her children. Elizabeth affected to continue inflexible; but at the same time permitted Mary's sentence to be made public; and lord Buckhurst, and Beale, clerk to the council, were fent to the unhappy queen to apprize her of the sentence, and the popular clamour for its speedy execution.

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Upon receiving this dreadful information, Mary seemed no way moved; but insisted that since her death was demanded by the protestants, she died a martyr to the catholic religion. She said, that as the English often embrued their hands in the blood of their own sovereigns, it was not to be wondered at that they exercised their cruelty towards her. She wrote her last letter to Elizabeth, not demanding her life, which she now seemed willing to part with, but desiring, that after her enemies should be satiated with her innocent blood, her body might be consigned to her servants, and conveyed to France, there to repose in a catholic country, with the sacred reliques of her mother.

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In the mean time, accounts of this extraordinary fentence were spread into all parts of Europe; and the king of France was among the foremost who attempted to avert the threatened blow. He fent over Believre as an extraordinary ambaffador, with a professed intention of interceding for the life of Mary. But James of Scotland, her son, was, as in duty obliged, still more pressing in her behalf. He dispatched one Keith, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, with a letter to Elizabeth, conjuring her to spare the life of his parent, and mixing threats of vengeance, in case of a refusal. Elizabeth, however, treated his remonstrances with the utmost indignation; and when the Scotch ambassador begged that the execution might be put off for a week, the queen answered with great emotion, "No, not for an hour." Thus Elizabeth, when folicited by foreign princes to pardon the queen of Scots, feemed always disposed to proceed to extremities against her; but when her ministers urged her to strike the blow, her scruples and her reluctance feemed to return.

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Whether the queen was really fincere in her reluctance to execute Mary, is a question which, tho' usually given against her, I will not take upon me to determine. Certainly there were great arts used by her courtiers to determine her to the fide of feverity; as they had every thing to fear from the refentment of Mary, in case the ever succeeded to the throne. Accordingly, the kingdom was now filled with rumours of plots, treasons, and insurrections; and the queen was continually kept in alarm by fictitious dangers, the, therefore, appeared to be in great terror and perplexity; the was observed to fit much alone, and to mutter to herfelf half fentences, importing the difficulty and diffress to which she was reduced. In this situation, the one day called her fecretary, Davison, whom the ordered to draw out fecretly the warrant for Mary's execution, informing him, that the intended to keep it by her in case any attempt should be made for the delivery of that princels. figned the warrant, and then commanded it to be carried to the chancellor to have the feal affixed to Next morning, however, she fent two gentlemen successively to defire that Davison would not go to the chancellor, until she should see him; but Davison telling her that the warrant had been already sealed, she seemed displeased at his precipitation. Davison, who probably wished himself to see the sentence executed, laid the affair before the council, who unanimously resolved, that the warrant should be immediately put in execution,

and promised to justify Davison to the queen. Ac-

cordingly, the fatal instrument was delivered to

Beale, who fummoned the noblemen to whom it

was directed, namely, the earls of Shrewsbury,

Derby, Kent, and Cumberland, and these toge-

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two executioners, to dispatch their bloody com-

mission.

Mary heard of the arrival of her executioners, who ordered her to prepare for death by eight o'clock the next morning. Without any alarm the heard the death-warrant read with her usual composure, though she could not help expressing her furprize, that the queen of England should confent to her execution. She even abjured her being privy to any conspiracy against Elizabeth, by laying her hand upon a New Testament, which happened to lie on the table. She defired that her confessor might be permitted to attend her, which, however, these zealots refused. After the earls had retired, the ate sparingly at supper, while the comforted her attendants, who continued weeping and lamenting their mistress, with a chearful countenance, telling them, they ought not to mourn, but rejoice, at the prospect of her speedy deliverance from a world of milery. Towards the end of supper, she called in all her servants, and drank to them; they pledged her in order on their knees, and craved her pardon for any past neglect of She craved mutual forgiveness; and a plentiful effusion of tears attended this last solemn feparation.

After this, she reviewed her will, and perused the inventory of her effects. These she bequeathed to different individuals, and divided her money among her domestics, recommending them in letters to the king of France, and the Duke of Guise. Then going to bed at her usual hour, she passed part of the night in uninterrupted repose; and rising, spent the remainder in prayer, and acts of devotion. Towards morning, she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved for this solemn occasion. Thomas Andrews, the under-sherist of the coun-

ty, then entering the room, he informed her that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied, that she was ready; and bidding her servants farewell, she proceeded, supported by two of her guards, and followed the theriff, with a ferene composed afpect, with a long veil of linen on her head, and in her hand a crucifix of ivory. In passing thro' an hall adjoining to her chamber, Sir Andrew Melvil, master of her houshold, fell upon his knees, and shedding a flood of tears, lamented his misfortune, in being doomed to carry the news of her unhappy fate to Scotland. "Lament not, " faid she, but rather rejoice. Mary Stuart will " foon be freed from all her cares. Tell my " friends that I die constant in my religion, and " firm in my affection and fidelity to Scotland and " France. God forgive them that have long de-" fired my end, and have thirsted for my blood, 46 as the heart panteth for the water-brook. Thou, " O God, who art truth itself, and perfectly un-" derstandest the inmost thoughts of my heart, " knowest how greatly I have defired that the " realms of Scotland and England might be unit-" ed. Commend me to my fon, and affure him "I have done nothing prejudicial to the state, or " the crown of Scotland. Admonish him to per-" fevere in amity and friendship with the queen of England, and see that thou dost him faithful " fervice. And so good Melvil farewell; once " again farewell, good Melvil, and grant the af-" fistance of thy prayers to thy queen and thy " mistrefs." In this place she was received by the four noblemen, who with great difficulty were prevailed upon to allow Melvil, with her physician, apothecary, and two female attendants, to be present at her execution. She then passed into another hall, the noblemen and the sheriff going before,

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before, and Melvil bearing up her train; where was a scaffold erected and covered with black. As foon as the was feated, Beale began to read the warrant for her execution. Then Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, standing without the rails, repeated a long exhortation, which she defired him to forbear, as the was firmly refolved to die in the catholic religion. The room was crowded with spectators, who beheld her with pity and distress, while her beauty, though dimmed by age and affliction, gleamed through her fufferings, and was fill remarkable in this fatal moment. The earl of Kent observing, that in her devotions she made frequent use of the crucifix, he could not forbear reproving her, exhorting her to have Christ in her heart, not in her hand. She replied with presence of mind, that it was difficult to hold fuch an object in her hand, without feeling her heart touched for the fufferings of him whom it represented. She now began, with the aid of her two women, to undress for the block; and the executioner also lent his hand to affift them. She smiled, and said that the was not accustomed to undress herself before fo large a company, nor to be attended by fuch fervants. Her two women burfting into tears, and loud exclamations of forrow, the turned about to them, put her finger upon her lips, as a fign of imposing silence upon them; and having given them her bleffing, defired their prayers in return. The two executioners kneeling, and asking her pardon, the faid the forgave them, and all the authors of her death, as freely as the hoped forgivenels from her Maker, and then once more made a solemn protestation of her innocence. Her eyes were then covered with a linen handkerchief; and the laid herfelf down without any fear or trepidation, then reciting a pfalm, and repeating a pious ejaculation, her head was severed from her body at

two strokes by the executioner. He instantly held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood, and agitated with the convulsions of death; the dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies." The earl of Kent replied Amen, while the rest of the spectators wept and fighed at this affecting spectacle; for flattery and zeal alike gave place to stronger and better emotions. Thus died Mary, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity, a princels unmatched in beauty, and unequalled in misfortunes. In contemplating the contentions of mankind, we ever find almost both sides culpable; Mary, who was stained with crimes that deserved punishment, was put to death by a princels who had no just pretentions to inflict

punishment on her equal.

It is difficult to be certain of the true state of Elizabeth's mind, upon receiving the first accounts of the death of Mary. Historians in general are willing to ascribe the extreme forrow the testified on that occasion to falsehood and deep dissimulation. But where is the necessity of ascribing to bad motives, what feems to proceed from a more generous fource? There is nothing more certain, than that, upon hearing the news, she testified the utmost surprize and indignation. Her countenance changed, her speech faltered and failed her, and the stood fixed for a long time in mute astonishment. When the first burst of forrow was over, the still perfisted in her resentment against her ministers, none of whom dared to approach her. She committed Davison to prifon, and ordered him to be tried in the Star-chamber for this misdemeanor. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds; in confequence of which he remained a long time in cultody,

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tody, and the fine, though it reduced him to want and beggary, was rigorously levied upon him. It is likely therefore that Elizabeth was sincere enough in her anger for the fate of Mary, as it was an event likely to brand her reign with the character of cruelty; and though she might have desired her rival's death, yet she must certainly be shocked at the manner of it.

But the uneafiness the queen felt from this difagreeable forwardness of her ministry, was soon loft in one much greater. Philip, who had long. meditated the destruction of England, and whose extensive power gave him grounds to hope for succels, now began to put his projects into executi-The point on which he refted his glory, and the perpetual object of his schemes, was to support the catholic religion, and exterminate the reformation. The revolt of his subjects in the Netherlands still more enflamed his resentment against the English, as they had encouraged that insurrection, and affifted the revolters. He had, therefore, for some time been making preparations toattack England by a powerful invafion; and now every part of his vast empire resounded with the noile of armaments, and every art was used to levy. supplies for that great design. The marquis of Santa Croce, a sea officer of great reputation and experience, was destined to command the fleet, which confifted of an hundred and thirty veffels, of a greater fize than any that had been hitherto. feen in Europe. The duke of Parma was to conduct the land forces, twenty thousand of whom were on board the fleet, and thirty-four thousand more were affembled in the Netherlands, ready to be transported into England. The most renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain, were ambitious of fharing in the honour of this great enterprize. Don Amadæus of Savoy, Don John

of Medicis, Gonzaga, duke of Sabionetta, and others, hastened to join this great equipment; no doubt was entertained of its fuccess, and it was oftentatiously styled the Invincible Armada. It carried on board, beside the land forces, eight thousand four hundred mariners, two thousand galley-flaves, and two thousand fix hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance. It was victualled for fix months, and was attended with twenty leffer ships, called Caravals, and ten Salves,

with fix oars a-piece.

Nothing could exceed the terror and consternation which all ranks of people felt in England upon news of this terrible Armada being under fail to invade them. A fleet of not above thirty ships of war, and those very small, in comparison, was all that was to oppose it by sea; and as for resisting by land, that was supposed to be impossible, as the Spanish army was composed of men well disciplined, and long inured to danger. queen alone feemed undifmayed in this threatening calamity; the iffued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a steady resistance; and the more to excite the martial spirit of the nation, the appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury, exhorting the foldiers to their duty, and promifing to share the same dangers, and the same fate with them. "I myself, cried she, will be " your general, your judge, and the rewarder of " every one of your virtues in the field. Your " alacrity has already deferved its rewards; and " on the word of a prince they shall be duly paid " you. Persevere then in your obedience to com-" mand, shew your valour in the field, and we " shall soon have a glorious victory over those " enemies of my God, my kingdom, and my

" people." The foldiers with shouts proclaimed

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their ardour, and only wished to be led on to con-

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Nor were her preparations by fea driven on with less alacrity; although the English fleet was much inferior in number and fize of shipping to that of the enemy, yet it was much more manageable, the dexterity and courage of the mariners being greatly superior. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of great courage and capacity, as lord Admiral, took on him the command of the navy. Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him; while a small fquadron confifting of forty vessels, English and Flemish, commanded by lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma. This was the preparation made by the English, while all the protestant powers of Europe regarded this enterprize as the critical event which was to decide for ever the fate of their religion.

In the mean time, while the Spanish Armada was preparing to fail, the admiral Santa Croce died, as likewise the vice admiral Paliano; and the command of the expedition was given to the duke de Medina Sidonia, a person utterly unexperienced in sea affairs; and this, in some measure, served to frustrate the design. But some other accidents also contributed to its failure. Upon leaving the port of Lisbon, the Armada next day met with a violent tempest, which sunk some of the smallest of their shipping, and obliged the fleet to put back into harbour. After some time spent in refitting, they again put to fea; where they took a fisherman, who gave them intelligence that the English fleet, hearing of the dispersion of the Armada in a storm, was retired back into Plymouth harbour, and most of the mariners discharged. From this false intelligence, the Spanish admiral, instead of going directly to the coast of Flanders,

to take in the troops stationed there, as he had been instructed, resolved to fail to Plymouth, and destroy the shipping laid up in that harbour. But Effingham, the English admiral, was very well prepared to receive them; he was just got out of port when he faw the Spanish Armada coming full fail towards him, disposed in the form of an half moon, and firetching feven miles from one extremity to the other. However the English admiral, seconded by Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, attacked the Armada at a distance, pouring in their broadfides with admirable dexterity. They did not choose to engage the enemy more closely, because they were greatly inferior in the number of thips, guns, and weight of metal; nor could they pretend to board such lofty thips without manifest However, two Spanish galleons disadvantage. were disabled and taken. As the Armada advanced up the Channel, the English still followed and infested their rear; and their fleet continually increasing from different ports, they foon found themselves in a capacity to attack the Spanish fleet more nearly; and accordingly fell upon them, while they were as yet taking shelter in the port of To increase their confusion, Howard took eight of his smaller ships, and filling them with combustible materials, fent them, as if they had been fire ships, one after the other into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards, taking them for what they feemed to be, immediately took flight in great disorder; while the English, profiting by their panic, took or destroyed about twelve of the enemy.

This was a fatal blow to Spain; the duke de Medina Sidonia being thus driven to the coast of Zealand, held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that as their ammunition began to fail, as their ships had received great damage, and the duke

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duke of Parma had refused to venture his army under their protection, they should return to Spain by sailing round the Orkneys, as the winds were contrary to his passage directly back. Accordingly they proceeded northward, and were followed by the English sleet as far as Flamborough-head, where they were terribly shattered by a storm. Seventeen of the ships, having sive thousand men on board, were afterwards cast away upon the western isses, and the coast of Ireland. Of the whole Armada, three and sifty ships only returned to Spain, in a miserable condition; and the seamen as well as soldiers who remained, only served, by their accounts, to intimidate their countrymen from attempting to renew so dangerous an expedition.

These disasters of the Spanish Armada, served only to excite the spirit and courage of the English, to attempt invasions in their turn. It would be endless to relate all the advantages obtained over the enemy at sea, where the capture of every ship must have been made a separate narrative; or their various descents upon different parts of the coast, which were attended with effects too transient for the page of history. It is sufficient to observe, that the sea captains of that reign are still considered as the boldest and most enterprizing set of men that England ever produced; and among this number, we reckon our Rawleigh, and Howard, our Drake, our Cavendish, and Hawkins. The English navy then first began to take the lead; and has fince continued irrefistible in all parts of the ocean.

Of those who made the most signal sigure in these depredations upon Spain, was the young earl of Essex, a nobleman of great bravery, generosity, and genius; and sitted, not only for the foremost ranks in war by his valour, but to conduct the intrigues of a court by his eloquence and address. But with all these endowments, both of body and

mind,

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mind, he wanted prudence; being impetuous, haughty, and totally incapable of advice or con-The earl of Leicester had died some time before, and now left room in the queen's affections for a new favourite, which the was not long in choosing, fince the merit, the bravery, and the popularity of Essex, were too great not to engage her attention. Elizabeth, though she rejected an husband, yet appeared always passionately desirous of a lover; and flattery had rendered her to infenfible to her want of beauty, and the depredations of age, that she still thought herself as powerful by her personal accomplishments as by her authority. The new favourite was young, active, ambitious, witty, and handsome; in the field, and at court, he always appeared with fuperior lustre. In all the masques which were then performed, the earl and Elizabeth were generally coupled as partners; and although the was almost fixty, and he not half fo old, yet her vanity overlooked the difparity; the world told her that she was young, and the herfelf was willing to think fo. This young earl's interest in the queen's affections, as may naturally be supposed, promoted his interests in the flate; and he conducted all things at his discreti-But young and unexperienced as he was, he at length began to fancy that the popularity he possessed, and the flatteries he received, were given to his merits and not to his favour. His jealouly also of lord Burleigh, who was his only rival in power, made him still more untractable; and the many successes he had obtained against the Spaniards, increased his confidence. In a debate before the queen, between him and Burleigh, about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was fo heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot both the rules and duties of civility. He turned his back on the queen in a contemptuous manner, which whiftan colle to he fwor even greaty we form acquange val,

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which fo provoked her resentment, that she instantly gave him a box on the ear. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submission due to her fex and station, he clapped his hand to his fword, and fwore he would not bear fuch usage even from her father. This offence, though very great, was overlooked by the queen; her partiality was fo prevalent, that she re-instated him in his former favour, and her kindness seemed to have acquired new force from that short interruption of anger and resentment. The death also of his rival, lord Burleigh, which happened shortly after, feemed to confirm his power.

But though few men were possessed of Essex's talents, both for war and peace, yet he had not art enough to guard against the intrigues of a court : his temper was too candid and open, and gave his enemies many advantages over him. At that time the earl of Tyrone headed the rebellious natives of Ireland; who, not yet thoroughly brought into subjection to the English, took every opportunity to make incursions upon the more civilized inhabitants, and flew all they were able to overpower. To fubdue these was an employment that Essex thought worthy of his ambition; nor were his enemies displeased at thus removing a man from court, where he obstructed all their private aims of

preferment. But it ended in his ruin.

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Effex, upon entering on his new command in Ireland, employed his friend, the earl of Southampton, who was long obnoxious to the queen, as general of his horse; nor was it till after repeated orders from Elizabeth, that he could be prevailed on to displace him. This indiscretion was followed by another; instead of attacking the enemy in their grand retreat in Ulster, he led his forces into the province of Munster, where he only exhausted his strength, and lost his opportu-Vol. III. nity

nity against a people that submitted at his approach. but took up arms again when he retired. It may eafily be supposed, that these miscarriages were urged by the enemies of Essex at home; but they had still greater reason to attack his reputation, when it was known, that instead of humbling the rebels, he had only treated with them; and inflead of forcing them to a submission, he had concluded a ceffation of hostilities. This iffue of an enterprize, from which much was expected, did not fail to provoke the queen most fensibly; and her anger was still more heightened by the peevish and impatient letters, which he daily wrote to her and the council. But her refentment against him was still more justly let loose, when she found, that leaving the place of his appointment, and without any permission demanded or obtained, he had returned from Ireland to make his complaints to herfelf in person.

At first, indeed, Elizabeth was pleased at seeing a favourite come back, whom the longed to fee; but the momentary fatisfaction of his unexpected appearance being over, the reflected on the impropriety of his conduct with greater feverity; and ordered him to remain a prisoner at his own house. But this was a reception Effex was not unprepared for: he used every expression of humiliation and forrow, and tried, once more, the long unpractifed arts of infinuation that had brought him The queen, however, still continuinto favour. ing inflexible, he resolved to give up every prospect of ambition; but previous to his retiring into the country, he affured the queen, that he could never be happy till he again faw those eyes, which were used to shine upon him with such lustre; that, in expectance of that happy moment, he would, like another Nebuchadnezzar, dwell with the beafts of the field, and be wet with the dew of

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heaven, till she again propitiously took pity on his fufferings. This romantic meffage, which was quite in the breeding of the times, feemed pecuharly pleafing to the queen; she thought him fincere from the consciousness of her own fincerity; the, therefore, replied, that after some time, when convinced of his fincerity, fomething might be expected from her lenity. When these symptoms of the queen's returning affection were known. they equally renewed the fears of his real enemies. and the affiduities of his pretended friends. He did not, therefore, decline an examination of his conduct before the council, secure in his mistress's favour, and their impotence to do him a real injury. In consequence of this, he was only sentenced for his late misconduct, to refign his employments, and to continue a prisoner in his own house, till her majesty's further pleasure should be known.

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He now, therefore, had, in some meafure, triumphed over his enemies; and the A. D. discretion of a few months might have re- 1600. instated him in all his former employments; but the impetuofity of his character would not fuffer him to wait for a flow redress of what he considered as wrongs; and the queen's refusing his request to continue him in the possession of a lucrative monopoly of fweet wines, which he had long enjoyed, spurred him on to the most violent and guilty measures. Having long built with fond credulity on his great popularity, he began to hope, from the effiftance of the giddy multitude, that revenge upon his enemies in the council, which he supposed was denied him from the throne. With these aims he began to increase the general propenfity in his favour, by an hospitality little suited to his fituation, or his circumstances. He entertained men of all ranks and professions; but particu-E 2

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larly the military, whom he hoped in his present views might be serviceable to him. But his greatest dependence was upon the professions of the citizens of London, whose schemes of religion and government he appeared entirely to approve; and while he gratisted the puritans by railing at the government of the church, he pleased the envious, by exposing the saults of those in power. However the chief severity of his censure was heard to rest upon the queen, whom he did not hesitate to ridicule; and of whom he declared that she was now become an old woman, and that her mind

was grown as crooked as her body.

It may well be supposed that none of these indiscretions were concealed from the queen; his enemies, and her emissaries, took care to bring her information of all his refentments and aims, and to aggravate his flightest reflections into treason. Elizabeth was ever remarkably jealous where her beauty was in question; and though she was now in her seventieth year, yet she eagerly listened to all the flattery of her courtiers, when they called her a Venus, or an Angel. She, therefore, began to consider him as unworthy of her esteem, and permitted his enemies to drive him to those extremities to which he was naturally very well inclined to He had, in fact, by this time collected together a felect council of malecontents, who flattered him in his wild projects; and, supposing their adherents much more numerous than they really were, they took no pains to conceal their in-Among other criminal projects, therefult of blind rage and despair, they resolved at last that Sir Christopher Blount, one of his creatures, should, with a choice detachment, possels himself of the palace gates; that Sir John Davis should seize the hall, Sir Charles Davers the guardchamber, while Effex himfelf would rush in from the

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the Meuse, attended by a body of his partizans, into the queen's presence, entreat her to remove his and her enemies, to assemble a new parliament, and to correct the defects of the present ad-

ministration.

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It was the fortune of this queen's reign, that all projects against it were frustrated by a timely notice of their nature and intent. The queen and council, alarmed at the great refort of people to Effex, and having some intimations of his design, fent secretary Herbert to require his appearance before the council, which was affembled at the lord While Effex was deliberating upon the manner he should proceed, whether to attend the fummons, or fly into open rebellion, he received a private note, by which he was warned to provide for his own fafety. He now, therefore, confulted with his friends touching the emergency of their fituation; they were destitute of arms and ammunition, while the guards at the palace were doubled, so that any attack upon that would be fruitless. While he and his confidants were in confultation, a person, probably employed by his enemies, came in as a messenger from the citizens, with tenders of friendship and affishance against all his adversaries. Wild as the project was of raifing the city, in the present terrible conjuncture it was refolved on, but the execution of it was delayed till the day following.

Early in the morning of the next day, he was attended by his friends, the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Sandes, Parker, and Mounteagle, with three hundred persons of distinction. The doors of Essex-house were immediately locked, to prevent all strangers from entering; and the earl now discovered his scheme for raising the city more sully to all the conspirators. In the mean time, Sir Walter Raleigh sending a

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message to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, this officer had a conference with him in a boat on the Thames. and there discovered all their proceedings. The queen being informed of the whole, fent in the utmost haste Egerton, the lord keeper, Sir William Knollys, the controller, Popham, the lord chief justice, and the earl of Worcester, to Esfexhouse, to demand the cause of these unusual proceedings. It was some time before they received admittance through the wicket into the house; and it was not without some degree of fury, that they ordered Effex and his adherents to lay down their While they continued undaunted in the discharge of their duty, and the multitude around them clamoured loudly for their punishment, the earl of Effex, who now faw that all was to be hazarded, resolved to leave them prisoners in his house, and to fally forth to make an insurrection in the city. But he had made a very wrong estimate in expecting that popularity alone could aid him in time of danger; he issued out with about two hundred followers, armed only with fwords; and in his paffage to the city was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwell. As he passed through the streets, he cried aloud, For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life! hoping to engage the populace to rife; but they had received orders from the mayor to keep within their houses; fo that he was not joined by a fingle person. He then proceeded to the house of Smith, the sheriff, on whose aid he greatly depended; but the crowd gathered round him rather to fatisfy their curiofity than to lend him any affistance. Effex now perceived that he was quite undone; and hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland, and lord Burleigh, he began to think of retreating to his own house, there to sell his life as dearly as he could. But he was prevented in his aims

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aims even there; the streets in his way were barricadoed, and guarded by the citizens, under the command of Sir John Levison. In fighting his way through this obstruction, Henry Tracy, a young gentleman, for whom he had a fingular affection, was killed, and Sir Christopher Blount wounded and taken. The earl, himself, attended by a few of his followers, the rest having privately retired, made towards the river; and, taking a boat, arrived once more at Effex-house, where he began to make preparations for his defence. But his case was too desperate for any remedy from valour; wherefore, after demanding in vain for hostages, and conditions from his befiegers, he furrendered at discretion, requesting only civil treatment, and a fair and impartial hear-

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Effex and Southampton, were immediately carried to the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, from whence they were next day conveyed to the Tower, and tried by their peers on the nineteenth of February following. Little could be urged in their defence; their guilt was too flagrant, and though it deserved pity, it could not meet an acquittal. Effex after condemnation was visited by that religious horror which feemed to attend him in all hisdifgraces. He was terrified almost to despair by the ghostly remonstrances of his own chaplain; hewas reconciled to his enemies, and made a full It is alledged upon. contession of his conspiracy. this occasion, that he had strong hopes of pardon, from the irrefolution which the queen feemed to discover before the figned the warrant for his execution. She had given him formerly a ring, which. she desired him to send her in any emergency of this nature, and that it should procure his safety and protection. This ring was actually fent her by the counters of Nottingham, who, being a E. 4 concealed

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concealed enemy to the unfortunate earl, never delivered it; while Elizabeth was secretly fired at his obstinacy in making no applications for mercy and forgiveness. The fact is, she appeared herself as much an object of pity, as the unfortunate nobleman she was induced to condemn. She signed the warrant for his execution, she countermanded it, she again resolved on his death, and again felt a new return of tenderness. At last she gave her consent to his execution, and was never seen to enjoy one happy day more.

After the beheading of Essex, which death he suffered in the thirty sisth year of his age, some of his associates were brought in like manner to their trials. Cuffe, his secretary, a turbulent man, but possessed of great learning, Davers, Blount, Meric, and Davis, were condemned and executed; the queen pardoned the rest, being persuaded that they were culpable only from their friendship to

their benefactor.

The remaining events of this reign are not considerable enough to come into a picture, already crowded with great ones. With the death of her favourite Essex, all Elizabeth's pleasures seemed to expire; the afterwards went through the business of the state merely from habit, but her fatisfactions were no more She had fallen into a profound melancholy, which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her prosperous reign, were unable to remove. She had now found out the falshood of the counters of Nottingham; who, on her death-bed, sent for the queen, and informed her of the fatal circumstance of the ring, which she had neglected to deliver. This information only ferved to awaken all that passion which the queen had vainly endeavoured to suppress. She shook the dying countess in her bed, crying out, " That God might pardon her, but

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" The never would." She then broke from her, and refigned herfelf to the dictates of her fixed despair. She refused food and sustenance; she continued filent, and gloomy; fighs, and groans, were the only vent she gave to her despondence; and the lay for ten days and nights upon the carpet, leaning on cushions, which her maids brought her. Perhaps the faculties of her mind were impaired by long and violent exercise; perhaps she reflected with remorfe on some past actions of her life, or perceived, but too strongly, the decays of nature, and the approach of her dissolution. She faw her courtiers remitting their affiduity to her, in order to pay their court to James, the apparent successor. Such a concurrence of causes was more than sufficient to destroy the remains of her constitution; and her end was now visibly feen to approach. Feeling a perpetual heat in her stomach, attended with an unquenchable thirst, the drank without ceating, but refused the affiftance of her physicians. Her distemper gaining ground, Cecil, and the lord admiral, defired to know her fentiments with regard to the succession. To this she replied, that as the crown of England had always been held by kings, it ought not to devolve upon any inferior character, but upon her immediate heir the king of Scotland. Being then advised by the archbishop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, she replied, that her thoughts did not in the least wander from him. Her voice foon after left her; the fell into a lethargic flumber, which continued some hours, and she expired gently without a groan, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign. Her character differed with her circumstances; in the beginning, the was moderate and humble; towards the end of her reign, haughty, and severe But ever prudent, active, and discerning, she procured

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for her subjects that happiness, which was not entirely selt by those about her. She was indebted to her good fortune, that her ministers were excellent; but it was owing to her indiscretion that the favourites, who were more immediately chosen by herself, were unworthy. Though she was possessed of excellent sense, yet she never had the discernment to discover that she wanted beauty; and to slatter her charms at the age of sixty-sive, was the surest road to her savour and esteem.

But whatever were her personal defects as a queen, she is to be ever remembered by the English with gratitude. It is true, indeed, that she carried her prerogative in parliament to its highest pitch; fo that it was tacitly allowed in that affembly, that she was above all law, and could make and unmake them at her pleasure; yet still she was so wife and good, as feldom to exert that power which she claimed, and to enforce few acts of her prerogative, which were not for the benefit of the people. It is true, in like manner, that the English during her reign were put in possession of no new or splendid acquisitions; but commerce was daily growing up among them, and the people began to find that the theatre of their truest conquests was to be on the bosom of the ocean. A nation which hitherto had been the object of every invasion, and a prey to every plunderer, now afferted its strength in turn, and became terrible to its invaders. The fuccessful voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese, began to excite their emulation; and they fitted out several expeditions for discovering a shorter passage to the The famous Sir Walter Raleigh, without any affistance from government, colonized New England, while internal commerce was making equal improvements; and many Flemings, per-

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fecuted in their native country, found, togetherwith their arts and industry, an easy asylum in England. Thus the whole island seemed as if rouzed from her long habits of barbarity; arts, commerce, and legislation began to acquire new strength every day; and such was the state of learning at that time, that some fix that period as the Augustan age of England. Sir Walter Raleigh, and Hooker, are considered as among the first improvers of our language. Spenfer and Shakespeare are too well known, as poets, to be praifed here; but of all mankind, Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, who flourished in this reign, deserves, as a philosopher, the highest applause; his style is copious and correct, and his wit is only furpaffed by his learning and penetration. If we look through history, and confider the rife of kingdoms, we shall scarce find an instance of a people, becoming, in so short a time, wise, powerful, and happy. Liberty, it is true, still continued to fluctuate; Elizabeth knew her own power, and stretched it to the very verge of despotism; but now that commerce was introduced, liberty foon after followed; for there never was a nation perfectly commercial, that submitted long to slavery.

108 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

C H A P. XXVIII.

JAMES I.

JAMES, the fixth of Scotland and the first of England, the son of Mary, came to the throne with the universal approbation of all orders of the state, as in his person were united every claim, that either descent, bequest, or parliamentary sanction could confer. He had every reason, therefore, to hope for an happy reign; and he was taught, from his infancy, that his prerogative was uncontrolable, and his right transmitted from heaven. These sentiments he took no care to conceal; and he even published them in many parts of those works, which he had written before he lest Scotland.

But he was greatly mistaken in the spirit of thinking of the times; for new systems of government, and new ideas of liberty, had, for some time, been stealing in with the reformation; and only wanted the reign of a weak or merciful monarch, to appear without control. In consequence of the progress of knowledge, and a familiar acquaintance with the governments of antiquity, the old Gothic forms began to be despised; and an emulation took place, to imitate the freedom of Greece The fevere, though popular governand Rome. ment of Elizabeth, had confined this rifing spirit within very narrow bounds; but when a new fovereign, and a new family appeared, less dreaded, and less loved by the people, symptoms immediately began to be seen of a more free and independent genius in the nation.

James scarce was entered into England when he gave disgust to many. The desire in all to see their new sovereign was ardent and natural; but the king,

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king; who loved retirement, forbid the concourse that attended on his journey from Scotland, pretending that this great resort of people would produce a scarcity of provisions. To this offence to the people he added, soon after, what gave offence to the higher orders of the state, by prostituting titles of honour, so that they became so common as to be no longer marks of distinction. A pasquinade was fixed up at St. Paul's, declaring that there would be a lecture given on the art of assisting short memories, to retain the names of the new nobility.

But though his countrymen shared a part of these honours, yet justice must be done the king, by confessing, that he lest almost all the great offices in the hands he found them. Among these, Cecil, created earl of Salisbury, who had been so active in the last reign against his own interests, was continued now prime minister and chief counsellor. This crafty statesman had been too cunning for the rest of his associates; and while, during Elizabeth's reign, he was apparently leagued against the earl of Essex whom James protected, yet he kept up a secret correspondence with that monarch, and secured his interests without for-

feiting the confidence of his party.

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But it was not so fortunate with lord Grey, lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who had been Cecil's associates. They felt immediately the effects of the king's displeasure, and were dismissed their employments. These three seemed to be marked out for peculiar indignation, for soon after they were accused of entering into a conspiracy against the king; neither the proofs of which, nor its aims, have reached posterity: all that is certain is, that they were condemned to die, but had their sentence mitigated by the king. Cobham and Grey were pardoned, after they had laid their heads

heads on the block. Raleigh was reprieved, but remained in confinement many years afterwards, and at last suffered for this offence, which was

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This mercy, shewn to these supposed delinquents, was very pleasing to the people; and the king, willing to remove all jealoufy of his being a stranger, began his attempts in parliament by an endeavour to unite both kingdoms into one. However, the people were not as yet ripe for this coalition; they were apprehensive that the posts and employments, which were in the gift of the court, would be conferred on the Scotch, whom they were as yet taught to regard as foreigners. By the repulse in this instance, as well as by some exceptions the house of commons took to the form of his fummons to parliament, James found that the people he came to govern, were very different from those he had left behind; and perceived that he must give reasons for every measure he intended to enforce.

He now, therefore, attempted to correct his former mistake, and to peruse the English laws, as he had formerly done those of his own country, and by these he resolved to govern. But even here he again found himself disappointed. In a government fo fluctuating as that of England, opinion was ever deviating from law; and what was enacted in one reign, was contradicted by custom in another. The laws had all along declared in favour of an almost unlimited prerogative, while the opinions of the people were guided by instructors, who began to teach opposite principles. the kings and queens before him, except fuch as were controlled by intestine divisions, or awed by foreign invasion, issued rather their commands to parliament, than gave their reasons. James, unmindful of this alteration in the opinions of the people,

people, resolved to govern in the ancient manner; while the people, on the contrary, having once got an idea of the inherent privileges of mankind, never gave it up, sensible that they had reason and

power also on their side.

Numberless, therefore, were the disputes between the king and his parliament during his whole reign; one attempting to keep the privileges of the crown entire, the other aiming at abridging the dangerous part of the prerogative; the one labouring to preserve customs established for time immemorial, the other equally affiduous in defending the inherent privileges of humanity. Thus we fee laudable motives actuating the disputants on both fides of the question, and the principles of both founded either in law or in reason. When the parliament would not grant a subsidy, James had examples enough among his predeceffors which taught him to extort a benevolence. Edward the fourth, Henry the eighth, and queen Elizabeth herself, had often done so; and precedent undoubtedly entitled him to the same privilege, On the other hand, the house of commons, who found their growing power to protect the people, and not fuffer the impositions of the crown, considered that this extorted benevolence might at length render the fovereign entirely independent of the parliament, and therefore complained against it as an infringement of their privileges. These attempts of the crown, and these murmurings of the commons, continued through this whole reign, and first gave rise to that spirit of party, which has ever fince subsisted in England; the one for preferving the ancient constitution, by maintaining the prerogative of the king; the other for trying an experiment to improve it, by extending the liberties of the people. During

During these contests, James, who supposed no arguments sufficient to impair the prerogative, seemed entirely secure that none would attempt to alledge any. He daily continued to entertain his parliament with set speeches, and florid harangues, in which he urged his divine right and absolute power as things incontestable; to these the commons made as regular answers, not absolutely denying his pretentions, but slowly and regularly

abridging his power.

However, tho' James persevered in afferting his prerogative, and threatened those who should prefume to abridge it, yet his justice and clemency were very apparent in the toleration which he gave to the teachers of different religions throughout the kingdom. The minds of the people had long been irritated against one another, and each party persecuted the rest, as it happened to prevail; it was expected, therefore, that James would strengthen the hands of that which was then uppermost; and that the catholics and fectaries should find no protection. But this monarch wifely observed, that men should be punished for actions, and not for opinions; a decision which gave general disfatisfaction: but the universal complaint of every fect was the best argument of his moderation towards all.

Yet mild as this monarch was, there was a project contrived in the very beginning of his reign for the re-establishment of popery, which, were it not a fact known to all the world, could scarcely be credited by posterity. This was the gun-powder plot, than which a more horrid or terrible scheme never entered into the human heart to conceive, and which shews at once the most determined courage may be united with the most execrable intentions.

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The Roman catholics had expectedgreat fayour and indulgence on the accession of James, both as a descendant from Mary, a rigid catholic, and also as having shewn some partiality to that religion in his youth. But they foon discovered their mistake; and were at once surprised and enraged to find James on all occasions express his resolution of strictly executing the laws enacted against them, and of persevering in the conduct of his predecessor. This declaration determined them upon more desperate measures; and they at length formed a resolution of destroying the king and both houses of parliament at a blow. The scheme was first broached by Robert Catesby, a gentleman of good parts and ancient family, who conceived that a train of gun-powder might be so placed under the parliament-house, as to blow up the king and all the members at once. He opened his intention to Thomas Percy, a descendant from the illustrious house of Northumberland, who was charmed with the project, and readily came into it. Thomas Winter was next intrusted with the dreadful secret; and he went over to Flanders in quest of Guy Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with whose zeal and courage the conspirators were thoroughly acquainted. When they enlifted any new zealot into their plot, the more firmly to bind him to fecrecy, they always, together with an oath, employed the facrament, the most facred rite of religion. Every tender feeling and all pity were banished from their breasts; and Tesmond and Garnet, two jesuits, superiors of the order. absolved their consciences from every scruple.

How horrid foever the contrivance might appear, yet every member feemed faithful and fecret in the league; and about two months before the fitting of parliament, they hired an house, in Percy's name, adjoining to that in which the par-

liament

liament was to assemble. Their first intention was to bore a way under the parliament-house, from that which they occupied, and they fet themselves laboriously to the task; but when they had pierced the wall, which was three yards in thickness, on approaching the other fide, they were surprised to find that the house was vaulted underneath, and that a magazine of coals were usually deposited there. From their disappointment on this account they were foon relieved, by information, that the coals were then felling off, and that the vaults would be then let to the highest bidder. They therefore feized the opportunity of hiring the place, and bought the remaining quantity of coals with which it was then stored, as if for their own use. The next thing done was to convey thither thirtyfix barrels of gun-powder, which had been purchased in Holland; and the whole was covered with the coals and faggots brought for that purpose. Then the doors of the cellar were boldly flung open, and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

Confident of success, they now began to plan the remaining part of their project. The king, the queen, and prince Henry, the king's eldest son, were all expected to be present at the opening of the parliament. The king's second son, by reason of his tender age, would be absent, and it was resolved that Percy should seize, or assalinate him. The princess Elizabeth, a child likewise, was kept at lord Harrington's house in Warwickshire; and Sir Everard Digby was to seize her, and

immediately proclaim her queen.

The day for the fitting of parliament now approached. Never was treason more secret, or ruin more apparently inevitable; the hour was expected with impatience, and the conspirators gloried in their meditated guilt. The dreadful secret,

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to n riou bet fons, had been religiously kept during the space of mear a year and an half; when all the motives of pity, justice and safety, were too weak, a remorse

of private friendship saved the kingdom.

Sir Henry Percy, one of the conspirators, conceived a defign of faving the life of lord Mounteagle, his intimate friend and companion, who also was of the same persuasion with himself. About ten days before the meeting of parliament, this nobleman, upon his return to town, received a letter from a person unknown, and delivered by one who fled as foon as he had discharged his mesfage. The letter was to this effect, " My Lord, fray away from this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of the times. And think not flightly of this " advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in " fafety. For though there be no appearance of any flir, yet I say they will receive a terrible " blow this parliament; and yet they shall not fee who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm. For the danger is past " as foon as you have burned the letter."

The contents of this mysterious letter surprised and puzzled the nobleman to whom it was addressed; and though inclined to think it a foolish attempt to affright and ridicule him, yet he judged it safest to carry it to lord Salisbury, secretary of state. Lord Salisbury too was inclined to give little attention to it, yet thought proper to lay it before the king in council, who came to town a few days after. None of the council were able to make any thing of it, although it appeared serious and alarming. In this universal agitation between doubt and apprehension, the king was the first who penetrated the meaning of this dark epistle.

epistle. He concluded that some sudden danger was preparing by gun-powder; and it was thought adviseable to inspect all the vaults below the houses of parliament. This care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, who purposely delayed the search, till the day before the meeting of parlia.

Nov. 5, of faggots which lay in the vault under the house of peers; and he cast his eye

upon Fawkes, who stood in a dark corner, and who passed himself for Percy's servant. That daring determined courage, which he had long been noted for, even among the desperate, was. fully painted in his countenance, and struck the lord chamberlain with strong suspicion. The great quantity of fuel also kept there for the uses of a person seldom in town, did not pass unnoticed; and he refolved to take his time to make a more exact fcrutiny. About midnight, therefore, Sir Thomas Knevit, a justice of peace, was fent with proper attendants, and, just at the entrance of the vault, he seized a man preparing for the terrible enterprise, dressed in a cloak and boots, and a dark lanthorn in his hand. This was no other than Guy Fawkes, who had just disposed every part of the train for its taking fire the next morning, the matches and other combustibles The whole of the being found in his pockets. defign was now discovered; but the atrociousness of his guilt, and the despair of pardon, inspiring him with resolution, he told the officers of justice, with an undaunted air, that had he blown them and himself up together he had been happy. Before the council he displayed the same intrepid firmness, mixt even with scorn and disdain, refuling to discover his affociates, and shewing no concern but for the failure of his enterprize. But his bold spirit was at length subdued; being

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confined to the Tower for two or three days, and the rack just shewn him, his courage, fatigued with so long an effort, at last failed him, and he made a full discovery of all his accomplices.

Catefby, Percy, and the conspirators who were in London, hearing that Fawkes was arrested, fled with all speed to Warwickshire, where Sir Everard Digby, relying on the success of the plot, was already in arms, in order to feize the princess Elizabeth. But the country foon began to take the alarm, and wherever they turned, they found a fuperior force ready to oppose them. In this exigence, belet on all fides, they resolved, to about the number of eighty persons, to fly no farther, but make a stand at an house in Warwickshire, to defend it to the last, and sell their lives as dearly as possible. But even this miserable consolation was denied them: a spark of fire happening to fall among some gun-powder that was laid to dry, it blew up, and so maimed the principal conspirators, that the survivors resolved to open the gate, and fally out against the multitude that surrounded the house. Some were instantly cut to pieces; Catesby, Percy, and Winter, standing back to back, fought long and desperately, till in the end the two first fell covered with wounds, and Winter was taken alive. Those that survived the slaughter were tried and convicted; feveral fell by the hands of the executioner, and others experienced The jesuits, Garnet and Oldthe king's mercy. corn, who were privy to the plot, suffered with the rest; and, notwithstanding the atrociousness of their treason, Garnet was considered by his party as a martyr, and miracles were faid to have been wrought by his blood.

Such was the end of a conspiracy that brought ruin on its contrivers, and utterly supplanted that religion it was intended to establish. Yet it is reremarkable,

markable, that before this audacious attempt, the conspirators had always borne a fair reputation: Catefby was loved by all his acquaintance, and Digby was as highly respected both for his honour and integrity as any man in the nation. However, fuch are the lengths that superstition and early prejudice can drive minds originally well formed, but

impressed by a wrong direction.

The king's moderation, after the extinction of this conspiracy, was as great as his penetration in the prevention of it. The hatred excited in the nation against the catholics knew no bounds; and nothing but a total extinction of those who adhered to that perfuafion, feemed capable of fatisfying the greater part of the people. James bravely rejected all violent measures; and nobly declared, that the late conspiracy, however atrocious, should never alter his plans of government; but as, on the one hand, he was determined to punish guilt, fo, on the other, he would still support and protect innocence.

This moderation, however laudable, was at that time no way pleasing to the people, and the malignant part of his subjects were willing to afcribe his lenity to the papifts, to his being himself tinctured with their superstitions. However this be, he still found his parliaments refractory to all the measures he took to support his authority at home, or his defire of peace with foreign states. His speeches indeed betrayed no want of resolution to defend his rights; but his liberality to his favourites, and the infufficiency of his finances to maintain the royal dignity, still rendered him dependent upon his parliament for money, and they took care to keep him in indigence. Thus he was often forced into concessions, which, when once granted, could never be recalled; and while he **fupposed** fup it w I

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supposed himself maintaining the royal prerogative,

it was diminishing on every side.

It was, perhaps, the opposition which James met with from his people, that made him place his affections upon different persons about the court, whom he rewarded with a liberality that bordered on profusion. The death of young prince Henry, his eldest son, which hap-

pened at this time, a youth of great A. D. hopes, gave him no very great uneafi- 1612.

ness, as his affections were rather taken

up by newer connexions. In the first rank of these stood Robert Carre, a youth of a good family in Scotland, who, after having passed some time in his travels, arrived in London, at about twenty years of age. All his natural accomplishments confifted in a pleafing vifage; all his acquired abilities, in an easy and graceful demeanour. youth came to England with letters of recommendation to see his countryman, lord Hay; and that nobleman took an opportunity of affigning him the office of presenting the king his buckler at a match of tilting. When Carre was advancing to execute his office, he was thrown by his horse, and his leg was broke in the king's presence. James approached him with pity and concern, and ordered him to be lodged in the palace till his cure was completed. He himself, after tilting, paid him a visit in his chamber, and returned frequently during his confinement. The ignorance and simplicity of the youth confirmed the king's affections, as he difregarded learning in his favourites, of which he found but very little use in his own practice. Carre was therefore foon confidered as the most rising man at court; he was knighted, created viscount Rochester, honoured with the order of the garter, made a privy-counsellor; and,

to raise him to the highest pitch of honour, he was at last created earl of Somerset.

This was an advancement which fome regarded with envy; but the wifer part of mankind looked upon it with contempt and ridicule, fensible that ungrounded attachments are feldom of long continuance. Nor was it long before the favourite gave proofs of his being unworthy the place he held in the king's affections. Among the friends whom he consulted at court was Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of great abilities and learning; among the mistresses whom he addressed was the young countels of Essex, whose husband had been fent by the king's command to travel, until the young couple should be arrived at the age of puberty. But the affiduities of a man of such perfonal accomplishments as the favourite were too powerful to be refisted; a criminal correspondence was commenced between the countefs and the earl; and Effex, upon his return from his travels, found his wife beautiful and lovely indeed, but her affections entirely placed upon another. But this was not all; not contented with denying him all the rights of an husband, she was resolved to procure a divorce, and then to marry the favourite, to whom she had granted her heart. It was upon this occasion that Overbury was consulted by his friend; and that this honest counsellor declared himself utterly averse to the match. He described the countess as an infamous and abandoned woman; and went so far as to threaten the earl that he would separate himself from him for ever, if he could fo far forget his honour and his interest as to profecute the intended marriage. The confequence of this advice was fatal to the giver. The countefs, being made acquainted with his expoltulations, urged her lover to undo him. In confequence of this command, the king was persuaded ba far fhr by

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ed by the favourite to order Overbury on an embaffy into Russia; Overbury was persuaded by the fame adviser to refuse going; the delinquent was thut up in the Tower, and there he was poisoned.

by the direction of the countefs, in a tart.

In the mean time, the divorce which had been with some difficulty procured, took place, and the marriage of the favourite was folemnized with all imaginable splendour. But the suspicion of Overbury's being poisoned every day grew stronger, and reached the favourite, amidst all the glare and splendour of seeming happiness and success. The graces of his youth gradually disappeared; the gaiety of his manners were converted into fullen filence; and the king, whose affections had been engaged by these superficial accomplishments, began to cool to a man who no longer contributed to his amusement. But the adoption of another favourite, and the discovery of Somerset's guilt, foon removed all remains of affection, which the

king might still harbour for him.

An apothecary's apprentice, who had been employed in making up the poifon, having retired to Flushing, had divulged the secret there; and the affair being thus laid before the king, he commanded Sir Edward Coke, lord chief justice, to fift the affair to the bottom, with rigorous impartiality. This injunction was executed with great industry and severity; and the whole complication of their guilt was carefully unravelled. The lieutenant of the Tower, with some of the leffer criminals, were condemned and executed; Somerfet and his countels were soon after found guilty, but reprieved, and pardoned after some years of strict confinement. The king's duplicity and injustice on this occasion are urged as very great stains upon his character. Somerset was in his presence at the time the officer of justice came to Vol. III. apprehend

apprehend him; and boldly reprehended that minister's presumption for daring to arrest a peer of the realm before the king. But James being informed of the cause, said, with a smile, " Nay, " nay, you must go; for if Coke should send for " myself, I must comply." He then embraced him at parting, begged he would return immediately, and affured him he could not live without his company: yet he had no fooner turned his back, than he exclaimed, "Go, and the devil " go with thee, I shall never see thy face again." He was also heard to with, some time after, that God's curse might fall upon him and his family, if he should pardon those whom the law should condemn; however, he afterwards restored them both to liberty, and granted them a pension, with which they retired, and languished out the remainder of their lives in guilt, infamy, and mustual recrimination.

But the king had not been so improvident as to part with one favourite until he had provided himfelf with another. This was George Villiers, a youth of one and twenty, a younger brother of a good family, who was returned about that time from his travels, and whom the enemies of Somerfet had taken occasion to throw in the king's way, certain that his beauty and fashionable manners would do the rest. Accordingly, he had been placed at a comedy full in the king's view, and immediately caught the monarch's affections. The history of these times, which appears not without some degree of malignity against this monarch, does not however infinuate any thing flagitious in these connections, but imputes his attachment rather to a weakness of understanding, than to any perversion of appetite. Villiers was immediately taken into the king's fervice, and the office of cupbearer was bestowed upon him. It was in vain

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that Somerset had used all his interest to depress him; his stern jealousy only served the more to in-

terest the king in the young man's behalf.

But after Somerset's fall, the favour of James was wholly turned upon young Villiers; in the course of a few years he created him viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, master of the horse, chief justice in Eyre, warden of the cinque ports, master of the king's bench office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral of England. His mother obtained the title of countefs of Buckingham; his brother was created viscount Purbeck; and a numerous train of needy relations were all pushed up into credit and authority. It may, indeed, be reckoned among the most capricious circumstances of this monarch's reign, that he, who was bred a scholar, should choose for his favourites the most illiterate persons about his court; that he, whose personal courage was greatly suspected, should lavish his honours upon those whose only accomplishments were a Ikill in the warlike exercises of the times.

When unworthy favourites were thus advanced, it is not to be wondered at if the public concerns of the kingdom were neglected, and men of real merit left to contempt and misery. Yet such was the case at present, with regard to the cautionary towns in Holland, and the brave Sir Walter Ra-

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In the preceding reign, Elizabeth, when she gave assistance to the Dutch, at that time shaking off the Spanish yoke, was not so disinterested upon her lending them large sums of money, as not to require a proper deposit for being repaid. The Dutch, therefore, put into her hands the three important fortresses of Flushing, Brille, and Ramekins, which were to be restored upon pay-

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ment of the money due, which amounted in the whole to above eight hundred thousand pounds. But James, in his present exigence, being to supply a needy favourite and a craving court, agreed to evacuate these fortresses, upon being paid a third part of the money that was strictly due. The cautionary towns, therefore, were evacuated, which had held the states in total subjection; and which an ambitious or enterprizing prince would have regarded as his most valuable

possessions.

The universal murmur which this impolitic measure produced, was soon after heightened by an act of feverity, which still continues as the blackest stain upon this monarch's memory. brave and learned Raleigh had been confined in the Tower almost from the very beginning of James's accession, for a conspiracy which had never been proved against him; and in that abode of wretchedness he wrote several valuable performances, which are still in the highest esteem. His long fufferings, and his ingenious writings, had now turned the tide of popular opinion in his favour; and they who once detested the enemy of Effex, could not now help pitying the long captivity of this philosophical foldier. He himself ftill struggled for freedom; and perhaps it was with this defire that he spread the report of his having discovered a gold mine in Guiana, which was sufficient to enrich, not only the adventurers who should seize it, but afford immense treafures to the nation. The king, either believing his affertions, or willing to subject him to further difgrace, granted him a commission to try his fortune in quest of these golden schemes; but still referved his former fentence as a check upon his future behaviour.

Raleigh

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Raleigh was not long in making preparations for this adventure, which, from the fanguine manner in which he carried it on, many believed he thought it to be as promifing as he described it. He bent his course to Guiana, and remaining himself at the mouth of the river Oroonoko, with five of the largest ships, he sent the rest up the stream, under the command of his fon and of captain Keymis, a person intirely devoted to his interests. But instead of a country abounding in gold, as the adventurers were taught to expect, they found the Spaniards had been warned of their approach, and were prepared in arms to receive them. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out " That this was the true mine," meaning the town of St. Thomas, which he was approaching; " and that none but fools looked for " any other:" but just as he was speaking, he received a floot, of which he immediately expired. This was followed by another disappointment, for when the English took possession of the town they found nothing in it of any value.

It was Keymis who pretended that he had seen the mine, and gave the first account of it to Raleigh; but he now began to retract, and though he was within two hours march of the place, he refused, on the most absurd pretences, to take any effectual step towards finding it. He returned, therefore, to Raleigh with the melancholy news of his son's death; and then going into his cabbin,

put an end to his own life in despair.

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Raleigh, in this forlorn fituation, found now that all his hopes were over; but faw his misfortunes still farther aggravated by the reproaches of those whom he had undertaken to command. Nothing could be more deplorable than his situation, particularly when he was told that he must be carried

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back to England to answer for his conduct to the king. It is pretended that he employed many artifices, first to engage them to attack the Spanish fettlements at a time of peace; and failing of that, to make his escape into France. But all these proving unfuccessful, he was delivered into the king's hands, and strictly examined, as well as his fellow adventurers, before the privy-council. Count Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador, made heavy complaints against the expedition; and the king declared that Raleigh had express orders to avoid all disputes and hostilities against the Spaniards. Wherefore, to give the court of Spain a particular instance of his attachment, he figned the warrant for his execution, not for the present offence, but for his former conspiracy. Thus shewing himself guilty of complicated injustice; unjust in originally having condemned him without proof; unjust in having trusted a man with a commission without a pardon, expressive of that confidence; unjust in punishing with death a transgression that did not deserve it; but most unjust of all, when he refused a new trial, but condemned him upon an obsolete sentence. This great man died with the fame fortitude that he had testified through life; he observed, as he felt the edge of the ax, that it was a sharp, but a sure remedy for all evils; his harangue to the people was calm and eloquent; and he laid his head down on the block with the utmost indifference. His death ensured him that popularity, which his former intrepidity and his fuffering, so much greater than his crimes, had tended to procure him; and no measure in this reign, was attended with fo much public diffatil-The death of this great man was foon after followed by the difgrace of a still greater, namely, the chancellor Bacon, who was accused of

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of receiving bribes in his office; and, pleading guilty, was degraded and fined thirty thousand pounds; but his fine was afterwards remitted by

the king.

But there foon appeared very apparent reasons for James's partiality to the court of Spain, in the case of Raleigh. This monarch had entertained an opinion which waspeculiar to himself, that in marrying his son Charles, the prince of Wales, any alliance below that of royalty would be unworthy of him; he, therefore, was obliged to feek, either in the court of France or Spain, a fuitable match, and he was taught to think of the latter. Gondemar, who was ambassador from that court, perceiving this weak monarch's partiality to a crowned head, made an offer of the fecond daughter of Spain to prince Charles; and that he might render the temptation irrefishible, he gave hopes of an immense sortune which should attend the princess. However this was a negotiation that was not likely foon to be concluded; and from the time the idea was first started, James saw five years elapsed without bringing the treaty to any kind of. conclusion.

A delay of this kind was very displeasing to the king, who had all along an eye on the great fortune of the princess; nor was it less disagreeable to prince Charles, who, bred up with ideas of romantic passion, was in love without ever seeing the object of his affections. In this general tedium of delay, a project entered the head of Villiers, who had for some years ruled the king with absolute authority, that was fitter to be conceived by the knight of a romance, than by a minister and a statesman. It was nothing less, than that the prince should himself, travel in disguise into Spain,

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and visit the object of his affections in perion. Buckingham, who wanted to ingratiate himself with the prince, offered to be his companion; and the king, whose business it was to check so wild a scheme, gave his consent to this hopeful proposal. Their adventures on this strange project could fill novels; and have actually been made the subject of many. Charles was the knight-errant, and Buckingham was his 'fquire. They travelled through France in difguife, affuming the names of Jack and Tom Smith. They went to a ball at Paris, where the prince first saw the princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards married, and who was then in the bloom of youth and beauty. They were received at the court of Spain with all possible demonstrations of respect; but Buckingham filled the whole city with intrigues, adventures, ferenades, challenges, and jealoufy. To complete the catalogue of his follies, he fell in love with the dutchess of Olivarez, the prime minifler's wife, and infulted that minister in person. These levities were not to be endured at such a court as that of Spain, where jealoufy is so prevalent, and decorum so much observed; the match therefore broke off, for what reason historians do not assign; but if we may credit the novelists of that time, the prince had already fixed his affections upon the French princess.

In fact, a match for this prince was foon after negotiated with Henrietta, who was the daughter of the great Henry the fourth; and this met with much better success than the former. However, the king had not the same allurements in profecuting this match as the former, as the portion promised him was much smaller; but willing that his son should not be altogether disappointed of a bride, as the king of France demanded only the same terms which had been offered to the court of Spain,

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land dreff Jam Spain, James confented to comply. In an article of this treaty of marriage it was stipulated, that the education of the children, till the age of thirteen, should belong to the mother; and this probably gave that turn towards popery, which has since

been the ruin of that unfortunate family.

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Indeed a variety of causes seemed to conspire, together with their own imprudence, to bring down upon them those evils which they afterwards experienced. The house of commons was by thistime become quite unmanageable; the prodigality of James to his favourites, had made his necessia ties fo many, that he was contented to fell the different branches of his prerogative to the commons, one after the other, to procure supplies. In proportion as they perceived his wants, they found out new grievances; and every grant of money was fure to come with a petition for redrefs. flruggles between him and his parliament had been growing more and more violent every fession; and the very last advanced their pretensions to such a degree, that he began to take the alarm; but these evils fell upon the fucceffor, which the weakness of this monarch had contributed to give birth to.

These domestic troubles were attended by others still more important in Germany, and which produced in the end the most dangerous effects. The king's eldest daughter had been married to Frederic, the elector Palatine of Germany, and this prince revolting against the emperor Ferdinand the second, was defeated in a decisive battle, and obliged to take refuge in Holland. His affinity to the English crown, his misfortunes, but particularly the protestant religion, for which he had contended, were strong motives for the people of England to wish well to his cause; and frequent addresses were sent from the commons to spur up James to take a part in the German contest, and

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A. D. throne of his ancestors. James at first 1620. attempted to ward off the misfortunes of

his fon-in-law by negotiations; but these proving utterly ineffectual, it was resolved at last to rescue the Palatinate from the emperor by force of arms. Accordingly war was declared against Spain and the emperor; fix thousand men were fent over into Holland, to affin prince Maurice in his schemes against those powers; the people were every where elated at the courage of their king, and were fatisfied with any war which was to exterminate the papifts. This army was followed by another confifting of twelve thousand men, commanded by count Mansfeldt, and the court of France promifed its affistance. But the English were disappointed in all their views: the troops being embarked at Dover, upon failing to Calais, they found no orders for their admission. After waiting in vain for some time, they were obliged to fail towards Zealand, where no proper measures were yet confulted for their disembarkation. Mean while, a pestilential distemper crept in among the forces, so long cooped up in narrow veffels; half the army died while on board, and the other half, weakened by fickness, appeared too small a body to march into the Palatinate; and thus ended this ill-concerted and fruitless expedition.

Whether this misfortune had any effect upon the constitution of the king is uncertain;

A. D. but he was soon after seized with a ter-1625. tian ague, which, when his courtiers

assured him from the proverb that it was health for a king, he replied, that the proverb was meant for a young king. After some fits he found himself extremely weakened, and sent for the prince, whom he exhorted to persevere in the protestant religion; then preparing with decency and

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courage to meet his end, he expired, after a reign over England of twenty-two years, and in the fifty-ninth year of his age. With regard to foreign negotiations, James neither understood nor cultivated them; and perhaps in a kingdom fo fituated as England, domestic politics are alone fufficient. His reign was marked with none of the fplendours of triumph, nor no new conquests or acquifitions; but the arts were nevertheless filently and successfully going on to improvement. Reafon was extending her influence, and discovering to mankind a thousand errors in religion, in morals, and in government, that had long been reverenced by blind submission. The reformation had produced a spirit of liberty, as well as of investigation, among all ranks of mankind, and taught them that no precedents could fanctify fraud, tyranny, or injustice. James taught them by his own example to argue upon the nature of the king's prerogative, and the extent of the subjects liberty. He first began by setting up the prescriptive authority of kings against the natural privileges of the people; but when the subject was submitted to a controversy, it was soon seen that the monarch's was the weakest side.

CHAP. XXIX.

CHARLES I.

EW princes have ascended a throne with more apparent advantages A.D. 1625, than Charles; and none ever encountered more real difficulties. The advantages were fuch as might flatter even the most cautious prince into fecurity; the difficulties were fuch as no abilities could furmount. He found himself, upon coming to the crown, possessed of a peaceful and flourishing kingdom; his right undisputed by all the world, his power strengthened by an alliance with one of the most potent nations in Europe, his absolute authority tacitly acknowledged by one part of his subjects, and enforced from the pulpit by the rest. To add to all this he was loved by his people, whose hearts he had gained by his virtues, his humility, and his candour.

But on the opposite side of the picture we are presented with a very different scene. Men had begun to think on the different rights of mankind; and found, that all had an equal claim to the inestimable blessings of freedom. The spirit of liberty was roused; and it was resolved to oppose the ancient claims of monarchs, who usurped their power in times of ignorance or danger, and who pleaded in succeeding times their former depredations as prescriptive privileges. Charles had been taught from his infancy to confider the royal prerogative as a facred pledge, which it was not in his power to alienate, much less his duty to abridge. His father, who had contributed fo much to fink the claims of the crown, had nevertheless boldly defended

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defended them in his writings, and taught his fon to defend by the sword what he had only inculcated by the press. Charles, though a prince of tolerable understanding, had not comprehension enough to see, that the genius and disposition of his people had received a total change; he resolved, therefore, to govern by old maxims and precedents, a people who had lately found out that these maxims were established in times of ignorance and slavery.

In the foregoing reigns I have given very little of the parliamentary history of the times, which would have led me out of the way; but in the present it will be fit to point out the transactions of every parliament, as they make the principal figure in this remarkable æra, in which we see genius and courage united in opposing injustice, se-

conded by custom, and backed by power.

Charles undertook the reins of government with a fixed perfualion that his popularity was fufficient. to carry every measure. He had been loaded with a treaty for defending the Palatinate in the late reign; and the war declared for that purpose was to be carried on with vigour in this. But war was more eafily declared than supplies granted. After some reluctance the commons voted him two subsidies; a sum far from being sufficient to support him in his intended equipment, to affift his brother-in-law; and to this was added a petition for punishing papists, and redressing the grievances of the nation. Buckingham, who had been the late king's favourite, and who was still more carefied by the prefent monarch, did not efcape their censures; so that instead of granting the fums requifite, they employed the time in difputations and complaints, till the feafon for prosecuting the intended campaign was elapsed. Charles, therefore, wearied with their delays, and offended

A. D. offended at their refusal of his demands, thought proper to dissolve a parliament which he could not bring to reason.

To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles had recourse to some of the ancient methods of extortion, practised by sovereigns when in necessitious circumstances. That kind of tax called a benevolence was ordered to be exacted, and privy-seals were issued accordingly. In order to cover the rigour of this step, it was commanded, that none should be asked for money but such as were able to spare it; and he directed letters to different persons, mentioning the sums he desired. With this the people were obliged, though reluctantly, to comply; it was in fact authorised by many precedents; but no precedents whatsoever

could give a fanction to injustice.

With this money a fleet was equipped against Spain, carrying ten thousand men, the command of which army was intrusted to lord Wimbleton, who failed directly to Cadiz, and found the bay full of ships of great value. But he failed in making himself master of the harbour, while his undisciplined army landing, instead of attacking the town, could not be restrained from indulging themselves in the wine, which they found in great abundance on shore. Further stay, therefore, appearing fruitless, they were re-imbarked; and the plague attacking the fleet foon afterwards, they were obliged to abandon all hopes of fuccess, and return to England. Loud complaints were made against the court, for intrusting so important as command to a person who was judged so unqualified for the undertaking...

This ineffectual expedition was a great blow to the court; and to retrieve the glory of the nation, another attempt was to be made, but with a more certain prospect of success. New supplies there-

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fore being requisite, the king was resolved to obtain them in a more regular and constitutional manner than before. Another parliament was accordingly called; and though some steps were taken to exclude the more popular leaders of the last house of commons, by nominating them as sheriffs of counties, yet the present parliament seemed more refractory than the former. When the king laid before the house his necessities, and asked for a fupply, they voted him only three fubfidies, which amounted to about an hundred and fixty thousand rounds; a fum no way adequate to the importance of the war, or the necessities of the state. But even this was not to he granted, until the grievances of the state were redressed. Their chiefindignation was levelled against Buckingham, a minister who had no real merit, and the great infelicity of being the king's favourite. Whenever the subjects resolve to attack the royal prerogative, they begin with the favourites of the crown, and wife monarchs seldom have any. Charles was not poffessed of the art of making a distinction between friends and ministers; and whoever was his friend was always trusted with the administration of his affairs. He loved Buckingham, and undertook to protect him, although to defend a person so obnoxious to the people, was to share his reproach. The commons undertook to impeach him in the lower house, while the Earl of Briftol, who had returned from his embaffy in Spain, accused himamong his peers. The purport of the charge against him amounted to little more than that he had engroffed too much power for himself and his relations; that he had neglected to guard the feas with the fleet; and that he had applied a plaster to the late king's side, which was supposed to be poisonous, and to hasten his end. These frivolous accusations must have sunk of themselves, had they not been intemperately opposed by the royal

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royal authority. The king gave orders to the lord-keeper to command the commons expressly in his name not to meddle with his minister and fervant Buckingham. The more to enrage them, he had him elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge, and wrote that body a letter of thanks for their compliance. He affured the commons, that if they would not comply with his demands, he would try new councils. But what justly enraged them beyond all sufferance was when two of their members, Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliot, complaining of this partiality in favour of a man odious to the nation, the king ordered both to be committed to prison for seditious behaviour. This was an open act of violence, and should.

have been supported, or never attempted.

It was now that the commons justly exclaimed: that their p rivileges were infringed, and all freedom of debate destroyed. They protested, in the most folemn manner, that neither of their members had faid any thing difrespectful of the king, and they made preparations for publishing their vindication. The king, whose character it was to shew a readiness to undertake harsh measures, but not to support them, released the two members; and this compliance confirmed that obstinacy in the house, which his injuries had contribued to give rise to. The earl of Arundel, for being guilty of the same offence in the house of lords, was rashly imprisoned, and as tamely dismissed by the king. Thus the two houses having refused to answer the intentions of the court without previous conditions, the king, rather than give up his favourite, chose to be without the supply, and therefore once more dissolved the parliament.

The new councils which Charles had mentioned to the parliament, were now to be tried, in order to supply his necessities. Instead of making | eace with Spain, and thus trying to abridge his ex-

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pences, fince he could not enlarge his income, he refolved to carry on the war, and to keep up a standing army for this purpose. Perhaps also he had further views in keeping this army in pay, which was to feize upon the liberty of his subjects, when he found matters ripe for the execution. But at present his forces were new levied, ill paid, and worse disciplined; so that the militia of the country, that would be instantly led out against him, were far his superiors. In order, therefore, to gain time and money, a commission was openly granted to compound with the catholics, and agree for a dispensation of the penal laws against them. He borrowed a fum of money from the nobility, whose contributions came in but slowly. But the greatest stretch of his power was in the levying of ship-money. In order to equip a fleet (at least this was the pretence made) each of the maritime towns was required, with the affiftance of the adjacent counties, to arm as many veffels as were: appointed them. The city of London was rated at twenty thips. This was the commencement of a tax, which afterwards, being carried to fuch violent lengths, created such great discontents in the nation. But the extortions of the ministry did not rest here. Persons of birth and rank, who refused the loan, were summoned before the council; and, upon perfifting in a refusal, were put into confinement. Thus we see here, as in every civil war, fomething to blame on one fide, and the other. Both fides guilty of injustice, yet either in general actuated by motives of virtue. one contending for the inherent liberties of mankind, the other for the prescriptive privileges of the crown; both driven to all the extremes of falsehood, rapine, and injustice; and, by a fate attendant on humanity, permitting their actions to degenerate:

degenerate from the motives which first set them in motion.

Hitherto the will of the monarch was reluctantly obeyed; most of those who refused to lend their money, were thrown into prison, and patiently submitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the king for their release. Five persons alone undertook to defend the cause of the public; and, at the hazard of their whole fortunes, were refolved to try whether the king legally had a right to confine their persons without an infringement of any law. The names of these patriots were Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Haveningham, and Sir Edward Hambden. Their cause was brought to a solemn trial before the King's Bench, and the Nov. whole kingdom was attentive to the refult

of fo important a trial.

By the debates on this subject it appeared, that personal liberty had been secured by no less than fix different statutes, and by an article of the Great Charter itself. That in times of turbulence and fedition, the princes infringed upon those laws; and of this also many examples were produced. The difficulty then lay to determine when such violent measures were expedient; but of that the court pretended to be the supreme judge. As it was legal, therefore, that these five gentlemen. should plead the statute, by which they might demand bail, fo it was expedient in the court to remand them to prison, without determining on the necessity of taking bail for the present. This was a cruel evasion of justice; and, in fact, satisfied neither the court nor the country party. The court infifted that no bail could be taken; the country exclaimed, that the prisoners should be let free.

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The king being thus embroiled with his parliament, his people, and some of the most powerful foreign states, it was not without amazement that all men faw him enter into a war with France, a kingdom with which he had but lately formed the most natural alliance. This monarch, among the foibles of a good disposition, relied too much on the fincerity of his fervants; and, among others, permitted Buckingham to lead him as he thought proper. All historians agree that this minister had conceived hopes of gaining the heart of the queen of France, while, at the same time, Cardinal The rival-Richelieu aspired to the same honour. ry of these favourites produced an inveterate enmity between them; and from a private quarrel, they resolved to involve their respective nations in the dispute. However this be, war was declared against France; and Charles was taught to hope, that hostilities with that kingdom would be the furest means of producing unanimity at home.

But fortune seemed to counteract all this monarch's attempts. A fleet was fent out, under the command of Buckingham, to relieve Rochelle, a maritime town in France, that had long enjoyed its privileges independent of the French king; but that had for some years embraced the reformed religion, and now was belieged with a formidable army. This expedition-was as unfortunate as that to the coasts of Spain. The duke's measures were so ill concerted, that the inhabitants of the city that their gates, and refused to admit allies, of whose coming they were not previously informed. Instead of attacking the island of Oleron, which was fertile and defenceless, he bent his course to the Isle of Rhé, which was garrisoned, and well fortified. He attempted there to starve out the garrison of St. Martin's castle, which was copiously supplied with provisions by sea. By that time

the French had landed their forces privately at another part of the island; so that Buckingham was at last obliged to retreat, but with such precipitation, that two thirds of his army were cut in pieces before he could reimbark, though he was the last man of the whole army that quitted the shore. This proof of his personal courage, however, was but a small subject of consolation for the disgrace which his country had sustained, and his own person would have been the last they would have re-

gretted.

The bad fuccess of this expedition served to render the duke still more obnoxious, and the king more needy. He therefore resolved to call a third parliament; for money was to be had at any rate. In his first speech, he told them they were convoked on purpose to grant the supplies; and that if they should neglect to contribute what was necesfary for the support of the state, he would, in difcharge of his conscience, use those means that God had put into his hands, for faving that, which the folly of certain persons would otherwise endanger. But the king did not find his commons intimidated by his threats, nor by those of the lord-keeper, who commented upon what he faid. They boldly inveighed against his late arbitrary measures, forced loans, benevolences, taxes without confent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, billetting foldiers, and martial laws; these were the grievances complained of, and against these they insisted that an eternal remedy should be provided. munity from these vexations they alledged to be the inherent right of the subject; and their new demands they resolved to call a petition of right, as

A. D. possessed of. Nothing could be more just 1628. than the enacting the contents of this peti-

tion of right into a law. The Great Charter, and the old statutes, were sufficiently clear in lar be as lat ne by

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in favour of liberty; but as all the kings of England had ever, in cases of necessity or expediency, been accustomed at intervals to elude them; and as Charles, in a complication of instances, had lately violated them, it was but requisite to enact a new law, which might not be eluded or violated by any authority, or any former precedent to the

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But though this was an equitable proposal, and though the ready compliance with it might have prevented many of the diforders that were about to ensue, Charles was taught to consider it as the most violent encroachment on his prerogative, and used at first every method to obstruct its progress. When he found that nothing but his asfent would fatisfy the house, he gave it; but at first in such an ambiguous manner as left him still in possession of his former power. At length, however, to avoid their indignation, and still more to screen his favourite Buckingham, he thought proper to give them full fatisfaction. He came therefore to the house of peers, and pronouncing the usual form of words 66 Soit come ille desire; Let it be law as it is defired," he gave the petition of right all the fanction that was necessary to pass The acclamations with which the it into a law. house resounded sufficiently testified the joy of the people; and a bill for five subsidies, which passed foon after, was the strongest mark of their gratitude.

But the commons finding their perseverance crowned with success in this instance, were resolved to carry their scrutiny into every part of government which they considered as defective. The leaders of the house of commons at this time were very different from those illiterate barbarians which a century or two before came up to the capital, not to grant supplies, but to consider where supplies

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were to be procured; not to debate as legislators. but to receive commands as inferiors. The men of whom the present parliaments were composed, were persons of great knowlege and extensive learning; of undaunted courage, and inflexible perfeverance.

A little before the meeting of this parliament, a commission had been granted to thirty three of the principal officers of state, empowering them to meet, and concert among themselves the methods of levying money by impositions, or otherwise. The commons applied for cancelling that commission; and indeed the late statute of the petition of rights feemed to render fuch a commission entirely unnecessary. They objected to another commission for raising money for the introduction of a thousand German horse, which, with just reason, they feared might be turned against the liberties of the people. They refumed also their censure of Buckingham, whom they resolved implacably to purfue. They also openly afferted, that a method of levying money used by the king called tonnage and poundage, without the confent of parliament, was a palpable violation of all the liberties of the people. All these grievances were preparing to be drawn up in a remonstrance to his majesty, when the king, hearing of their intentions, came suddenly to the house, and ended the session by a prorogation.

But they were not fo easily to be intimidated in their schemes for the liberty of the people. They urged their claims with still more force on their next fitting; and the duty of tonnage and poundage was discussed with greater precision than before. This tax upon merchandise was a duty of very early institution, and had been conferred on Henry the fifth, and all succeeding princes during life, in order to enable them to maintain a naval force for the protection of the kingdom. But the parliament

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had usually granted it as of their special savour in the beginning of each reign, except to Henry the eighth, who had it not conferred on him by parliament, till the sixth year of his sitting on the throne. Although he had continued to receive it from the beginning, yet he thought it necessary to have the sanction of parliament to ensure it to him, which certainly implied that it was not an inherent privilege of the crown. Upon this argument, the commons sounded their objections to the levying it in the present reign; it was a tax they had not yet granted, and it had been granted by them in every preceding reign. They resused, therefore, to grant it now; and insisted the king could not levy it without their permission.

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This bred a long contest, as may be supposed, between the commons and the crown. The officers of the custom-house were summoned before the commons, to give an account by what authority they seized the goods of the merchants, who had refused to pay these duties. The barons of the Exchequer were questioned concerning their decrees on that head; the sheriff of London was committed to the Tower for his activity in fupporting the custom-house officers. These were bold measures; but the commons went still farther, by a refolution to examine into religious grievances, and a new spirit of intolerance The king, therefore, re- A. D. began to appear. folved to diffolve a parliament, which he 1629. found himself unable to manage; and Sir John Finch, the speaker, just as the question concerning tonnage and poundage was going to be put, rose up, and informed the house that he had a command from the king to adjourn.

Nothing could exceed the consternation and indignation of the commons upon this information. Just at a time they were carrying their most fa-

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vourite points to a bearing, to be thus adjourned, and the parliament dissolved, rendered them surious. The house was in an uproar; the speaker was pushed back into his chair, and forcibly held in it by Hollis and Valentine, till a short remonstrance was framed, and passed by acclamation rather than vote. In this hasty production, Papists and Arminians were declared capital enemies to the state. Tonnage and poundage was condemned as contrary to law; and not only those who raised that duty, but those who paid it, were considered

as guilty of capital crimes.

In consequence of this violent procedure, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Heyman, Selden, Coriton, Long, and Strode, were, by the king's order, committed to prison under pretence of sedition. But the same temerity that impelled Charles to imprison them, induced him to grant them a release. Sir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine, were summoned before the King's Bench; but they refusing to appear before an inferior tribunal, for faults committed in a superior, they were condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to pay a fine, the two former of a thousand pounds each, and the latter of five hundred, and to find fureties for their good behaviour. The members triumphed in their sufferings, while they had the whole kingdom as spectators and applauders of their fortitude.

In the mean time, while the king was thus diftressed by the obstinacy of the commons, he selt a much severer blow in the death of his savourite, the duke of Buckingham, who sell a sacrifice to his unpopularity. It had been resolved once more to undertake the raising of the siege of Rochelle; and the earl of Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, was sent thither, but returned without effecting any thing. In order to repair this difgrace,

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grace, the duke of Buckingham went in person to Portsmouth to hurry on another expedition, and to punish such as had endeavoured to defraud the crown of the legal affessments. In the general difcontent that prevailed against this nobleman, it was daily expected that some severe measures would be resolved on; and he was stigmatized as the tyrant and the betrayer of his country. There was one Felton, who caught the general contagion; an Irishman of a good family, who had served under the duke as lieutenant, but had refigned, on being refused his rank on the death of his captain, who had been killed at the Isle of Rhe. This man was naturally melancholy, courageous, and enthusiastic; he felt for his country, as if labouring under a calamity which he thought it in the power of his fingle arm to remove. He therefore refolved to kill the duke, and thus revenge his own private injuries, while he did service also to God and man. Animated in this manner with gloomy zeal, and mistaken patriotism, he travelled down to Portsmouth alone, and entered the town while the duke was furrounded by his levee, and giving out the necessary orders for embarkation. He was at that time engaged in conversation with one Soubize, and other French gentlemen; and a difference of fentiments having arisen in the conference, it was attended with all these violent gesticulations with which foreigners generally enforce The conversation being finished. their meaning. the duke drew towards the door; and while he was speaking to one of his colonels, Felton struck him over that officer's shoulder in the breast with his The duke had only time to fay, "The " villain has killed me," when he fell at the colonel's feet, and instantly expired. No one had feen the blow, nor the person who gave it; but in the confusion it was generally supposed that he was Voc. III. murdered

murdered by one of the Frenchmen, who appeared To violent in their motions but a little before. They were accordingly fecured, as for certain punishment; but in the mean time an hat was picked up, on the infide of which was fewed a paper, containing four or five lines of the remonstrance of the commons against the duke; and under these lines a fhort ejaculation, defiring aid in the at-It was now concluded that this hat must belong to the affaffin; and while they were employed in conjectures whose it should be, a man without an hat was feen walking very composedly before the door, and was heard to cry out, I am he. He disdained denying a murder in which he gloried; and averred, that he looked upon the duke as an enemy to his country, and as fuch deferving to When asked at whose instigation he had performed that horrid deed? he answered, that they need not trouble themselves in that enquiry; that his conscience was his only prompter, and that no man on earth could dispose him to act against its dictates. He suffered with the same degree of conftancy to the last; nor were there many wanting who admired not only his fortitude, but the action for which he suffered.

The king had always the highest regard for Buckingham, and was extremely mortified at his death; he began to perceive that the tide of popularity was entirely turned from him, and that the house of commons only served to increase the general discontent. He felt therefore a disgust against parliaments; and he was resolved not to call any more, till he should see greater indications of a compliant disposition in the nation. Having lost his favourite Buckingham, he became more his own minister, and never afterwards imposed such unlimited considence in any other. But though the minister of the crown was changed, the mea-

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fures still continued the same; the same disregard to the petitions of the people, the same desire of extending and supporting the prerogative, the same temerity, and the same weakness of condescension.

His first measure, however, now being lest without a minister and a parliament, was a prudent one. He made peace with A. D. the two crowns, against whom he had 1629. hitherto waged war, which had been entered upon without necessity, and conducted without glory. Being freed from these embarrassments, he bent his whole attention to the management of the internal policy of the kingdom and took two men as his associates in this task, who still acted an under part to himself. These were Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards created earl

of Strafford; and Laud, afterwards archbishop of

Canterbury.

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Strafford, by his eminent talents and abilities, merited all the confidence which the king reposed in him. His character was stately and austere; more fitted to procure esteem than love; his fidelity to the king was unshaken; but in serving the interests of the crown, he did not consider himself as an agent also for the benefit of the people. As he no employed all his counsels to support the prerogative, which he formerly had endeavoured to diminish, his actions are liable to the imputation of self-interest and ambition, but his good character in private life made up for that seeming duplicity of public conduct.

Laud was in the church fomewhat resembling Strafford in the state, rigid, severe, punctual, and industrious. His zeal was unrelenting in the cause of religion, and the forms as established in the reign of queen Elizabeth seemed essentially connected with it. His desire to keep these on their

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former footing was imprudent and severe; but it must be confessed that the furious opposition he met with was sufficient to excite his resentment.

Since the times of Elizabeth, a new religious feet had been gaining ground in England; which, from the supposed greater purity of their manners, were called Puritans. Of all other fects, this was the most dangerous to monarchy; and the tenets of it more calculated to support that imagined equality which obtains in a state of nature. The partizans of this religion, being generally men of warm, obstinate tempers, pushed their sentiments into a total opposition to those of Rome; and in the countries where their opinions had taken place, not only a religious, but a political freedom began to be established. All enthusiasts. indulging themselves in rapturous flights, ecstasies, visions, and inspirations, have a natural aversion to all ceremonies, rites, or forms, which are but external means of fupplying that devotion, which they want no prompter but their hearts to inspire. The fame bold and daring spirit which accompanied them in their addresses to the divinity, appeared in their political speculations; and the principles of civil liberty, which had hitherto been almost totally unknown in Europe, began to shoot forth in this ungracious soil. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if kings and bishops were willing to suppress the growth of opinions so unfavourable to their authority; and that Laud, who of all men alive, was the most attached to ceremony and shew, should treat with rigour, men who braved him into feverity. The truth is, that in the histories of the times, we find the great cause of the present contest between the king and his people to arife, not from civil, but religious motives; not from a defire on the one hand of extending power, and on the other of promoting liberty

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pen cou orde liberty; but merely from the ardour of the king in supporting bishops, surplices, and other ceremonies of the church, and the fury of the puritans in abolishing those distinctions, as remnants of populh idolatry. These distinctions in religion, at this day, are regarded with more unconcern; and, therefore, we are more apt to impute the ditorders of those times, rather to civil anotives of establishing liberty, which, in reality, made but

a very subordinate consideration.

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The humour of the nation ran, at that time, into the extreme appointe of superstition; and those ancient ceremonies, to which men had been arcustomed in England, fince the commencement of the Reformation, were in general confidered as impious and idolatrous. It was, therefore, the most impolitic time in the world for Land to think of introducing new ceremonies and observances, which could not fail of being treated with sutter deteflation. Nevertheless he went on boldly with his injunctions for the observance of those rites, which, in themselves, were of no moment; and, therefore, were as unnecessary to be urged by him, as ridiculous in being opposed by the puritans.

Orders were given, and rigorously infifted on, that the communion table should be removed from the middle of the church, where it hitherto food fince the Reformation, to the Halt end; where 'It should be railed in, and denominated the altar. The kneeling at the altar, and the using of copes, an embroidered vestment used in popish countries, were introduced to the great discontent of the people. Some pictures were admitted lagain into churches by his command. All fuch clergy as neglected nonablerve every ceremony, were fulpended, and deprived by the high commission court. And, to mortify the puritans still more, orders were iffued from the council, forbidding any .15.00.000

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controverly, either from the pulpit or the prefs. on the points in dispute, between them and their opponents, concerning free will and predeffination. At the same time that he obtained theking's protection for carrying on these measures, he took care to repay the monarch, by mag nifying on every occasion the regal authority; and treating all pretentions to independence, as a puritanical inno-The king's divine, hereditary, and indefeafible right, was the theme of every fermon; and those who attempted to question such doctrines, were confidered as making an attack upon religion itself. The king, who had now taken a resolution of calling no more parliaments, and which refolution he adhered to for the space of eleven years after, was very well fatisfied with thele doctrines; as they were the only means of facilitating his measures of government, and procuring those pecuniary supplies which he had no legal means of obtaining.

While Laud, therefore, during this long interval, ruled the church, the king and Strafford undertook to manage the temporal interests of the nation. A proclamation was issued, in which Charles declared, "That whereas, for several ill ends, the calling again of a parliament is divulged ed; yet the late abuses, having, for the present, unwillingly driven him out of that course; he will account it presumption for any one to prescribe to him any time for calling that assembly." This was generally construed as a declaration, that during that reign no more parliaments would be summoned; and every measure of the king but too well served to construct the surgicion.

It was now that the people, without a defender, or hopes of redrefs, faw themselves at the mercy of a monarch, who, though good and gentle in his own nature, might at any time change in his conduct

conduct. They now faw the constitution at one blow wholly overthrown, and one branch of the legislature assuming those rights, which had been divided between three. Tonnage and poundage were continued to be levied by royal authority alone: custom-house officers received orders from the council to enter any house whatever, in search of suspected goods: compositions were openly made with papifts; and their religion was become a regular part of the revenue. The High-commission court of Star-chamber exercised its power, independent of any law, upon several bold innovators in liberty, who only gloried in their fufferings, and contributed to render government odious and contemptible. Sir David Foulis was fined: by this court five thousand pounds, merely for diffuading a friend from compounding with the commissioners; who called upon him to take up the title of knighthood. Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's inn, had written an enormous quarto of a thousand pages, which was entitled Histriomastix, or a Scourge for the Stage: In this, beside much paltry declamation against the stage, he took occasion to blame the ceremonies and late innovations of the church; and this was an offence that Laud was not likely to forgive. He was condemned by the Star-chamber to be degraded from the bar; to stand in the pillory, in two places, Westminster and Cheapside; to lose his ears, one at: each place; to pay five thousand pounds to the king, and to be imprisoned during life. This fentence, which was equally cruel and unjust, was rigorously executed; and Prynne gloried in his sufferings. Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were tried before this tribunal for schifmatical libels, in which they attacked, with great severity and intemperate zeal, the ceremonies of the church of England. They were condemned G 4 to

to the same punishment that had been inflicted upon Prynne; and Prynne himself was also tried for
a new offence, for which he was fined five thousand pounds more, and sentenced to lose the rest
of his ears. The answers which these bold demagogues gave into court, were so full of contumacy
and invective, that no lawyer could be prevailed
with to sign them. The rigours, however, which
they underwent, being so unworthy men of their
profession, gave general offence; and the patience,
or rather alacrity with which they suffered, increas-

ed still further the public indignation.

The puritans, restrained in England, shipped themselves off for America, where they laid the foundations of a new government, agreeable to their festems of political freedom. But the government, unwilling that the nation should be deprived of its useful members, or dreading the unpopularity of these migrations, was prevailed on to iffue a proclamation, debarring those devotees access, even into those inhospitable regions. Eight ships, lying in the Thames, and ready to fail, were detained by order of council; and in these were embarked Sir Arthur Hazlerig, John Hamden, and Oliver Cromwell, who had resolved for ever to abandon their native country. This may stand as a proof of the fincerity these men afterwards teftified in the cause for which they fought; and is a clear proof that hypocrify, with which they were charged, in the beginning at least, was not among the motives of their opposition.

Every year, every month, every day, gave fresh instances, during this long intermission of parliaments, of the resolutions of the court to throw them off for eyer: but the levying of ship-money, as it was called, being a general burden, was universally complained of as a national grievance. This was a tax which had, in former reigns, been levied without gen as t mig tion the kin thei this was app Joh ingl reio had whi twe. with was ter t ject. All in fa his by 1 was gove with that ther thou

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out the confeat of parliament; but then the exigency of the state demanded such a supply. But as the necessity at present was not so apparent, and might excite murmurs among the people, a queftion was proposed by the king to the judges, whether, in a case of necessity, for the defence of the kingdom, he might not impose this tax ? and whether he was not sole judge of this necessity? To this the judges replied that he might; and that he was fole judge of the necessity. In this universal appearance of obedience to the king's injunctions, John Hamden, a gentleman of fortune in Buckinghamshire, refused to comply with the tax, and resolved to bring it to a legal determination. He had been rated at twenty-shillings for his estate, which he refused to pay; and the case was argued twelve days in the Exchequer chamber, before all the judges of England. The nation regarded, with the utmost anxiety, the result of a trial that was to fix the limits of the king's power; but after the former opinion of the judges on this subject, the event might have been eafily foreseen. All the judges, four only excepted, gave fentence in favour of the crown; while Hamden, who loft his cause, was more than sufficiently recompensed by the applauses of the people. Nothing now was heard in every company but murmurs against government, and encomiums on him who had withstood its usurpations. It was now alledged, that tyranny was confirmed into fystem; and that there was no redrefs except in fullen patience, or contented flavery. Ecclefiastical tyranny was thought to give aid to political injustice; and all the rights of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws, and purchased by the blood of so many heroes, now lay prostrate in undistinguished neglect. In this universal state of despondence, or clamour, an accident

dent gave the people of England an opportunity of vindicating their ancient privileges; and even of acquiring greater than was compatible with the

subjects happiness to be possessed of.

The Scotch had, during the reign of James the first, shewed a strong attachment to puritanical principles; and though they still continued to allow of bishops; yet they were reduced to poverty, and treated with contempt. James, indeed, had feen the low estate of episcopacy in that kingdom, and had endeavoured to exalt and establish it once more; but he died in the midst of his endeavours. It was the fate of Charles, for ever to aim at projects which were at once impracticable, and unnecessary; he resolved, therefore, to complete what his father had begun. This ill-judged attempt ferved to alienate the affections of his Scotch subjects, as much as his encroachments on liberty had rendered him unpopular in England. The flame of fedition in Scotland, paffed from city to city, while the puritans formed a Covenant, to support and defend their opinions; and resolved to establish their doctrines, or overturn the state. On the other hand, the court were determined to establish the liturgy of the church of England; and both fides being obstinate in opinion, those fanguinary measures were foon begun in Scotland, which had hitherto been only talked of among the English.

The discontent and opposition which the king met with in maintaining episcopacy among his English subjects might, one would think, hinder him from attempting to introduce it among those of Scotland; but such was his ardour, that he was resolved to have it established in every part of his dominions. Having published an order for reading the liturgy in the principal church in Edinburgh, the people received it with clamours

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urs and and imprecations. The court-party, indeed, with great justice, blamed their obstinacy, as the innovations were but trifling; but the people might have retorted with still greater force the folly of their thus earnestly attempting the establishment of trifles. The feditious disposition in that kingdom, which had hitherto been kept within bounds, was now too furious for restraint, and the insur-

rection became general over all the country.

Yet still the king could not think of defisting from his defign; and so prepossessed was he in fayour of royal right, that he thought the very name of king, when forcibly urged, would induce them to return to their duty. But he was foon undeceived; the puritans of Scotland were republicans in principle, as well as those in England; and they only wished to see the bishops first humbled, in order to make a more successful attack upon unguarded monarchy. Charles, therefore, finding them in arms, and that they infifted on displacing the bishops, considered their demands as an open declaration of war; and accordingly summoned fuch of the nobility of England as held lands of the crown, to furnish him with a proper number of forces to oppose them. To add to these supplies, he demanded a voluntary contribution from the clergy, as he was, in fact, fighting their cause; and by means of his queen, the catholics were also pressed for their assistance. By these methods he foon found himself at the head of an undisciplined and reluctant army, amounting to about twenty thousand men, and commanded by generals less willing to fight than to negotiate. His superiority in numbers, however, gave him the manifest advantage over his rebellious subjects, who were no way flow in marching to give him battle. But Charles, who inherited the peaceable disposition of his father, was unwilling to come to extremities, although a blow then struck

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with vigour might have prevented many of his fucceeding misfortunes. Inflead of fighting with his opponents, he entered upon a treaty with them; fo that a suspension of arms was soon agreed upon. and a treaty of peace concluded, which neither fide intended to observe; and then both parties agreed to dishand their forces. This step of disbanding the army was a fatal measure to Charles, as he could not levy a new army without great labour and expence; while the Scotch infurgents, who were all volunteers in the fervice, could be mustered again at pleasure. Of this the heads of the malecontents feemed fenfible; for they lengthened out the negotiations with affected difficulties, and threw in obstructions, in proportion as they were confident of their own superiority. At length, after much altercation, and many treaties figned and broken, both parties once more had recourfe to arms, and nothing but blood could fatiate the contenders.

War being thus resolved on, the king took every method as before for raising money to support it. Ship-money was levied as usual; some other arbitrary taxes were exacted from the reluctant people with great feverity; but one method of raising the supplies reflects immortal honour on those who contributed. The counsellors and servants of the crown lent the king whatever fums they could spare, and distressed their private fortunes to gratify their fovereign. These were the resources of the crown to prepare an army; but they were far from being lufficient; and there now remained only one method more, the longneglected method of a parliamentary fupply.

It was now above eleven years fince the king had called a parliament. The 1640. fierce and ungovernable spirit of the last had taught him to hate and to fear such

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an affembly; but all refources being exhaufted, and great debts contracted, he was obliged to call another parliament, from which he had no great reason to expect any favour. The many illegal, and the numerous imprudent steps of the crown, the hardships which several persons had suffered, and their constancy in undergoing punishment, had as much alienated the affections of the king's English as of his Scotch subjects. Instead of supplies the king was harafled with murmurs and complaints. The zealous in religion were pleased with the diffresses of the crown, in its attempts against their brethren in opinion; and the real friends to the liberties of mankind faw, with their usual penetration, that the time was approaching when the royal authority must fall into a total dependence on popular affemblies, and when public

treedom must acquire a full ascendant.

The house of commons, therefore, could not be induced to treat the Scotch, who were of the fame principles with themselves, and contending against the same ceremonies, as enemies to the They regarded them as friends and brothers, who first rose to teach them a duty it was incumbent on all virtuous minds to imitate. The king, therefore, could reap no other fruits from this affembly than murmurings and complaints. Every method he had taken to supply himself with money was declared an abuse, and a breach of the constitution. Tonnage and poundage, shipmoney, the fale of monopolies, the billeting foldiers upon refractory citizens, were all voted as stretches of arbitrary power. The king finding no hopes of redress from the commons, had recourse to the house of peers; but this was equally ineffectual with the former application. The king, therefore, finding no hopes of a compliance with his request, but recrimination instead of redress, once

once more diffolved the parliament, to try more feafible methods of removing his necessities.

The king having now made enemies of his Scotch subjects, by controlling them in their mode of worship, and of the commons by dissolving them, it remained to exasperate the city of London against him by some new imprudence. Upon their refuting to lend him money to carry on the Scotch war, he fued the citizens in the Starchamber for fome lands in Ireland, and made them pay a confiderable fine. He continued also to exact all the taxes against which every former parliament had remonstrated; but all were insufficient, A loan of forty thousand pounds was extorted from the Spanish merchants, who had bullion in the Tower, exposed to the attempts of the king. Coat and conduct money for the foldiers was levied on the counties; an ancient practice, but supposed to be abolished by the petition of right. All the pepper was bought from the East India company upon trust, and fold at a great discount for ready money. A scheme was proposed for coining two or three hundred thousand pounds of base money; and yet all these methods were far from being ef-The Scotch, therefore, sensible of the fectual. extremities to which he was reduced, led on an army of twenty thousand men as far as Newcastle upon Tyne, to lay their grievances before their fovereign, as they were pleased to term their re-One of the most disgusting strokes in the puritanical character of the times, was this gentle language and humble cant, in the midst of treason; and their flattery to their prince, while they were attempting to dethrone and dellroy him.

To these troops, inspired by religion, stushed with some slight victories obtained over straggling parties of the royalists, and encouraged by the English

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hed ing the lish English themselves, among whom they continued, the king was able to oppose only a smaller force, new levied, undisciplined, seditious, and ill paid. Being therefore in despair of stemming the torrent, he at last yielded to it. He first summoned a great council of peers to York; and, as he foresaw that they would advise him to call a parliament, he told them in his first speech that he had already taken that resolution. Having thus prepared for his misfortunes, he a short time as-Nov. 3, ter called that long parliament, which 1640. never discontinued sitting till they finally accomplished his ruin.

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English themselves, among whom they continued,

terminally localization and programmings CHARLES I. (Continued.)

council of peers to York; and, as he forefaw that HE andent expectations of men with regard to a parliament at such a critical juncture, and during fuch general discontents, might naturally engage the attendance of the members on their duty. The house of commons was never, from its first institution, observed to be so numerous, or the affiduity of its members greater. Without any interval, therefore, they entered upon business; and by unanimous consent they struck a blow that might be regarded as decifive. Instead of granting the demanded subsidies, they impeach. ed the earl of Strafford, the king's first minister, and had him arraigned before the house of peers for high treason. Pym, a tedious, but sensible speaker, who had first opened the accusation against him in the house of commons, was sent up to defend it at the bar of the house of lords; and most of the house accompanied their member on so agreeable an errand.

To bestow the greatest solemnity on this important trial, scaffolds were erected in Westminster Hall, where both houses sat, the one as judges, the other as accusers. Beside the chair of state, a close gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial. The articles of impeachment against him were twentyeight in number, the substance of which was, that he had attempted to extend the king's authority at home, and had been guilty of feveral exactions in Ireland. But though four months were employed by the managers in framing the accusation, yet there appears very little just cause of blame in him,

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fince the stretches of the king's power were made before he came into authority. However, the managers for the house of commons pleaded against him with vehemence stronger than their reasons, and fummed up their arguments, by infifting, that 00 though each article taken separately did not amount ard to a proof, yet the whole taken together might be re, fairly concluded to carry conviction. This is a umethod of arguing frequently used in the English on courts of justice even at this day: and perhaps er, none can be more erroneous; for almost every efalsehood may be found to have a multiplicity of er. weak reasons to support it. In this tumult of agpgravation and clamour; the earl himfelf, whole ck parts and wisdom had been long respectable, stood ad unmoved and undaunted. He defended his cause h. with all the presence of mind, judgment, and saer, gacity, that could be expected from innocence and ers ability. His children were placed befide him as he ole : was thus defending his life, and the cause of his nst master. After he had in a long and eloquent espeech, delivered without premeditation, confuted oft all the accufations of his enemies; after he had fo . shewn that during his government in Ireland, he had introduced the arts of peace among the lavage rpart of that people; after he had declared, that er though his measures in England were harth, he es, shewed the necessity by which he was driven into a them, fince his coming over; after he had clearly n, refuted the argument upon the accumulative force 1of his guilt, he thus drew to a conclusion. "But, y-" my lords, I have troubled you too long; longer at " than I should have done, but for the sake of at " these dear pledges, which a saint in heaven has " left me."-Upon this he paused, dropped a tear, in d looked upon his children, and proceeded.

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What I forfeit for myself is a trifle; that my indiscretions should reach my posterity, wounds

" me to the heart .- Pardon my infirmity. -" Something I should have added, but am not 44 able; therefore let it pass. And now, my lords, " for myself; I have long been taught that the " afflictions of this life are overpaid by that eter-" nal weight of glory which awaits the innocent; " and fo my lords, even fo, with the utmost tran-" quillity, I submit myself to your judgment, whether that judgment be life or death: not my " will, but thine, O God, be done." His eloquence and innocence induced those judges to pity, who were the most zealous to condemn him. The king himself went to the house of lords, and spoke for some time in his defence; but the spirit of vengeance that had been chained for eleven years, was now rouzed, and nothing but his blood could give the people satisfaction. He was found guilty by both houses of parliament; and nothing remained but for the king to give his confent to the bill of attainder. But in the present commotions the confent of the king was a thing that would very eafily be dispensed with; and imminent dangers might attend his refusal. Yet still Charles, who loved Strafford tenderly, hefitated, and feemed reluctant, trying every expedient to put off so dreadful a duty, as that of figning the warrant for his execution. While he continued in this agitation of mind, not knowing how to act, his doubts were at last filenced by an act of heroic bravery in the condemned lord. He received a letter from that unfortunate nobleman, defiring that his life might be made the facrifice of a mutual reconciliation between the king and his people; adding, that he was prepared to die, and to a willing mind there could be no injury. This instance of noble generofity was but ill repaid by his master, who complied with his request. He consented to the figning the fatal bill by commission; Strafford was behe confro

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headed on Tower-hill, behaving with all that composed dignity of resolution that was expected from his character. The people, taught by his death to trample upon the rights of humanity, soon after resolved to shed blocd that was still more precious.

But the commons did not stop their impeachments here. Laud also, after a deliberation which did not continue half an hour, was considered as sufficiently culpable to incur the same accusation, and was committed to custody. Finch, the lord keeper, was also impeached; but he had the precaution to make his escape, and sly over into Holland, as did Sir Francis Wyndebank, the secre-

tary, into France.

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The crown being thus deprived of the fervices of its ministers, the commons next proceeded to attack the few privileges it still possessed. During the late military operations, feveral powers had been exerted by the lieutenants, and deputy-lieutenants of counties, men who were all under the influence of the crown. These were, therefore, voted Delinquents; a term now first used to signity transgressors, whose crimes were not as yet alcertained by law. The sheriffs also, who had obeyed the king's mandate in raising ship-money, were voted also to be delinquents. All the farmers and officers of the customs, who had been employed during fo many years in levying tonnage and poundage, were subjected to the same imputation, and only purchased their safety by paying an hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Every discretionary or arbitrary sentence of the Star-chamber, and High-commission courts, underwent a severe scrutiny; and all those who had any hand in such sentences were voted to be liable to the penalties of the law. The judges, who had declared against Hamden in the trial of ship-money, were accused before

before the peers, and obliged to find fecurity for their appearance. All those monopolies which had been lately granted by the crown, were now annihilated by the order of the commons; and they carried their detestation of that grievance so far, as to expel from their own house all such members as had been monopolists or projectors.

Hitherto we have feen the commons in fome measure the patrons of liberty and of the people; boldly opposing the stretches of illegal power, or repressing those claims which, tho' founded on custom, were destructive of freedom. Thus far their aims, their struggles, were just and honourable: but the general passions of the nation were now excited; and having been once put into motion, they foon passed the line, and knew not where to stop. Had they been contented with resting here, after abridging all those privileges of monarchy which were capable of injuring the subject, and leaving it all those prerogatives that could benefit, they would have been confidered as the great benefactors of mankind, and would have left the constitution pretty nearly on the same footing on which we enjoy it at present. But they either were willing to revenge their former sufferings, or thought that some terrible examples were necessary to deter others from attempting to enflave their country. The horrors of a civil war were not lufficiently attended to; and they precipitately involved the nation in calamities which they themselves were the first to repent.

The whole nation was thrown into a general ferment. The harangues of the members, now first published and dispersed, kept alive the horrors which were felt for the late administration. The pulpits, delivered over to the puritanical preachers, whom the commons arbitrarily placed in all the considerable churches, resounded with faction

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and fanaticism. The press, freed from all fear of restraint, swarmed with productions, dangerous by their sedition and calumny, more than by their

eloquence or style.

In this univerfal uproar against the crown, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, who had some years before suffered so severely for their licentious abuses, and had been committed to remote prifons, were fet at liberty by order of the commons, and were feen making their triumphant entry into the capital. Bastwick had been confined in Scilly, Burton in Jersey, and Prynne in Guernsey; and upon landing at their respective places they were received by the acclamations of the people, and attended by crowds to London. Boughs were carried in this tumultuous procession; the roads were strewed with flowers, their sufferings were aggravated, and their perfecutors reviled. person who had been punished for seditious libels during the foregoing administration, now recovered their liberty, and had damages given them upon those who had decreed their punishment.

Grievances had, no doubt, and heavy ones, been endured during the last intermission of parliaments; but the very complaints against them now became one of the greatest grievances. So many were offered within doors, and petitioned against without, that the house was divided into above forty committees, charged each of them with the examination of its respective complaints. The torrent rifing to fo dreadful and unexpected an height, despair seized all those who, from interest or habit, were attached to monarchy; while the king himself faw, with amazement, the whole fabric of government totally overturned. "You " have taken, faid he to the parliament, the " whole machine of government to pieces; a prac-" tice frequent with skilful artists, when they de-

"fire to clear the wheels from any rust which may have grown upon them. The engine may be restored to its former use and motions, pro"vided it be fitted up entire, so as not a pin be "wanting." But the commons, in their present temper, were much better adapted to destroy than to fit up; and having taken the machine asunder, they soon sound an expeditious set of workmen ready to step in and take the whole business off their hands.

But in this universal rage for abolishing the former constitution, the parliament fell with great justice on two courts, which had been erected under arbitrary kings, and had feldom been employed but in cases of necessity. These were, the High-commission court, and the court of Starchamber. A bill unanimously passed the houses to abolish both; and in them to annihilate the principal and most dangerous articles in the king's prerogative. The first of those, which was instituted for defending the establishments of the church, had great power in all ecclefiaftical matters; and the judges in that court were entirely arbitrary in whatever punishments, or fines, they thought proper to inflict. The Star-chamber had given force to the king's proclamations, and punished fuch as ventured to transgress them; but that being now taken away, his proclamations were of no effect, and might be opposed with impunity. Such were the transactions of this first session of the long parliament; and tho' in some cases they acted with anger, and in others with precipitation, yet their merits fo much overbalanced their mistakes, that they deserve the highest gratitude from posterity.

After this, the parliament feemingly adjourned; but a committee of both houses, a thing altogether unprecedented, was appointed to sit during the recess, with very ample powers, and very little

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less than those of the parliament in the plenitude of its authority. Pym was appointed chairman of the lower house; in this further attempts were made for assuming the sovereign executive powers, and publishing the ordinances of this committee as statutes enacted by all the branches of the legislature. In the mean time the king went to

pay a visit to his subjects in Scotland.

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In the midst of these troubles, the papists of Ireland fancied they found a convenient opportunity of throwing off the English yoke. was a gentleman called Roger More, who, though of a narrow fortune, was descended from a very ancient Irish family, and was very much celebrated among his countrymen for his valour and capacity. This man first formed the project of expelling the English, and afferting the independency of his native country. The occasion was favourable; the English, warmly engaged in domestic animolities, were unable to attend to a distant infurrection; and those of that nation who resided among them, were too feeble to relift. Struck with these motives, Sir Phelim O'Neill entered into a conspiracy; lord Macguire came into his designs, and soon after all the chiefs of the native Irish promised their concurrence.

Their plan was laid accordingly, which was, that Sir Phelim O'Neill, and the other conspirators, should all begin an insurrection on one day throughout the provinces; should destroy all the English, while lord Macguire, and Roger More, should surprize the castle of Dublin. They had fixed on the approach of winter for this revolt, the day was appointed, every thing in readiness, the secret profoundly kept, and the conspirators promised themselves a certainty of success. The earl of Leicester, who had been appointed lord lieutemant, was then in London. Sir William Parsons,

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and Sir John Borlace, the two lords justices, were men of mean intellects; and, without attending to the interests of their country, indulged themselves in the most profound tranquillity on the very brink

of ruin.

The very day before the intended feizure of the castle of Dublin, the plot was discovered by one O'Connolly, an Irishman, but a protestant, to the justices, who fled to the castle, and alarmed all the protestant inhabitants of the city to prepare for their Macguire was taken, but More escaped; and new informations being every hour added to those already received, the project of a general in-

furrection was no longer a lecret.

But though the citizens of Dublin had just time enough to fave themselves from danger; the protestants dispersed over the different parts of the country, were taken unprepared. O'Neill and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulster. The Irish, every where intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priefts to maffacre a people whom they hated for their religion, and envied for their riches and profperity. The infurrections of a civilized people, are usually marked with very little cruelty; but the revolt of a favage nation, generally aims at exter-The Irish accordingly resolved to cut off all the protestants of the kingdom at a stroke; fo that neither age, fex, or condition, received any In fuch indiscriminate flaughter, neither former benefits, nor alliances, nor authority, were any protection: numberless were the instances of friends murdering their intimates, relations their kinfmen, and fervants their mafters. In vain did flight fave from the first assault; destruction, that had an extensive spread, met the hunted victims at every turn. Not only death, but studied cruelties were inflicted on the unhappy sufferers; the

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wery avarice of the revolters could not restrain their thirst for blood, and they burned the inhabitants in their own houses to increase their punishment. Several hundreds were driven upon a bridge; and from thence obliged, by these barbarians, to leap into the water, where they were drowned. The English colonies were totally annihilated in the open country of Ulster; but in the other provinces the rebels pretended to act with greater humanity.

The protestants were driven there from their houses, to meet the severity of the weather, without food or raiment, and numbers of them perished with the cold, which happened at that time to be peculiarly severe. By some computations, those who perished by all these cruelties, are made to amount to an hundred and sifty, or two hundred thousand; but, by a moderate computation, they could not have been less than forty

thousand.

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In the mean time the English Pale, as it was called, confisting of the old English catholics, who had first come over, joining with the native Irish, a large army was formed, amounting to above twenty thousand men, which threatened a total extermination of the English power in that island. The king was at that time in Scotland, when he received the first accounts of this rebellion; and though he did all in his power to induce his fubjects there to lend affistance to the protestant cause, yet he found them totally averse to sending any fuccours into Ireland. Their aim was to oblige the parliament of England, with what succours they could spare, and not to obey the injunctions of their fovereign. They went still farther, and had the affurance to impute a part of these dreadful massacres to the king's own contrivance. In tact, the rebels of Ireland did not fail to shew a royal patent, authorifing their attempts; and it is faid VOL. III.

faid that Sir Phelim O'Neill, having found a royal patent in lord Caulfield's house, whom he had murdered, he tore off the seal, and affixed it to a commission which he had forged for himself.

However this be, the king took all the precautions in his power to shew his utter detestation of these bloody proceedings; and being sensible of his own inability to suppress the rebellion, he had once more recourse to his English parliament, and craved their assistance for a supply. But here he found no hopes of assistance; many infinuations were thrown out that he had himself somented this rebellion, and no money could be spared for the extinction of distant dangers, when they pretended that the kingdom was threatened with

greater at home.

It was now that the republican spirit began to appear without any difguise in the present parliament; and that party, instead of attacking the faults of the king, refolved to destroy monarchy. They had feen a republican fystem of government lately established in Holland, and attended with very noble effects; they began, therefore, to wish for a fimilar fystem at home, and many productions of the press at that time sketched out the form. It would be unjust to deny these men the praise of being guided by honest motives; but it would be unwife not to fay also, that they were swayed by wrong ones. In the comparison between a republic and a limited monarchy, the balance entirely inclines to the latter, fince a real republicnever yet existed, except in speculation; and that liberty which damagogues promife to their followers, is generally only fought after for themselves. The aim in general of popular leaders, is rather to depress the great than exalt the humble; and in fuch governments, the lower ranks of people are too commonly the most abject slaves. In arepublic,

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public, the number of tyrants are capable of supporting each other in their injustice; while in a monarchy there is one object, who, if he offends, is easily punishable, and ought to be brought to

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The leaders of the opposition began their operations by a refolution to attack episcopacy, which was one of the strongest bulwarks of the royal power; but previously framed a remonstrance, in which they summoned up all their former grievances. These they afcribed to a regular system of tyranny in the king, and afferted that they amounted to a total subversion of the constitution. This, where drawn up by a tumultuous majority of the house. they ordered to be printed and published, without being carried up, as is usual in such cases, to the house of peers, for their affent and approbation. The commons having thus endeavoured to render the king's administration universally odious, they Their first measure began upon the hierarchy. was, by their own fingle authority, to suspend all the laws which had been made for the observance They particularly forbade of public worship. bowing at the name of Jesus. They complained of the king's filling five vacant bishoprics; and considered it as an insult upon them, that he should complete and strengthen an order which they were resolved to abolish. They accused thirteen bishops of high treason, for enacting canons without the consent of parliament; and endeavoured to prevail upon the house of peers to exclude all the prelates from their feats and votes, in that august assembly. But notwithstanding all their efforts, the lords refused their concurrence to this law; and all fuch as any way tended to the' farther limitation of royal authority. The majority of the peers adhered to the king; and plainly

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foresaw the depression of the nobility as a necessary consequence of the popular usurpations on the crown. The commons murmured at their resufal, mixed threats with their indignation, and began, for the first time, to infinuate that the business of the state could be carried on without them.

In order to intimidate the lords into their meafures, the populace was let loofe to infult and threaten them. Multitudes of people flocked every day towards Westminster, and insulted the prelates, and fuch lords as adhered to the crown. Some feditious apprentices being feized and committed to prison, the house of commons immediately ordered them to be fet free. Encouraged by the countenance of the house, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and threw out infolent menaces against the king himself. It was at this time that several reduced officers and students of the inns of court, offered their fervices to the king, to repress the rioters; and many frays ensued, not without bloodshed. The rabble, by way of reproach, were called Round-heads, from the manner of wearing their hair, and the gentlemen Ca-These names afterwards served to distinguish the partizans of either fide, and served still more to divide the nation.

The fury of the commons, and also of the populace, did not fail to intimidate the bishops; they saw the storm that was gathering against them; and, probably, to avert its effects, they resolved to attend their duty in the house of lords no longer; but drew up a protest, which was signed by twelve of them, in which they declared, that being hindered by the populace from attending at the house of lords, they resolved to go there no more till all commotions should be appealed; protesting, in the mean time, against all such laws as should be enacted in their absence.

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This secession of the bishops from the house of lords was what the commons most ardently wished for; and they seized the opportunity with pleafure. An impeachment of high treason was immediately sent up against them, as guilty of subverting the fundamental laws, and invalidating the legislative authority. In consequence of this, they were by the lords excluded from parliament, and committed to custody, no man in either house daring to speak a word in their vindication. One of the lords, indeed, was heard to say, that he did not believe they were guilty of treason, but he thought they were mad, and therefore were fitter

for Bedlam, than a feat in parliament.

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This was a fatal blow to the royal interest; but it foon felt a much greater from the king's own imprudence. Charles had long suppressed his refentment, and only strove to satisfy the commons by the greatness of his concessions; but finding that all his compliance had but increased their demands, he could no longer contain. He gave orders to Herbert, his attorney general, to enter an acculation of high treason in the house of peers against lord Kimbolton, one of the most popular men of his party, together with five commoners, Sir Arthur Hasterig, Hollis, Hampden, Pym, and Strode. The articles were, that they had traiterously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom; to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impose on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority; that they had invited a foreign army to invade the kingdom; that they had aimed at subverting the very rights and being of parliaments, and had actually raised and countenanced tumults against the king. Men had scarce leisure to wonder at the precipitancy and imprudence of this impeachment, when they were astonished by another H 3

measure, still more rash and more unsupported. A ferjeant at arms, in the king's name, demanded of the house the five members, and was sent back without any positive answer. This was followed by a conduct still more extraordinary. The next day the king himself was feen to enter the house of commons alone, advancing through the hall, while all the members stood up to receive him. The speaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took possession of it. Having seated himfelf, and looked round him for some time, he told the house that he was forry for the occasion that forced him thither, that he was come in person to feize the members, whom he had accused of high treason, seeing they would not deliver them up to his ferjeant at arms. Addressing himself to the speaker, he defired to know whether any of them were in the house; but the speaker falling on his knees, replied, that he had neither eyes to fee, nor tongue to speak in that place, but as the house was pleased to direct him; and he asked parden for being able to give no other answer. He then fate for some time to see if the accused were prefent; but they had escaped a few minutes before his entry. Thus disappointed, perplexed, and not knowing on whom to rely, he next proceeded, amidst the clamours of the populace, who continued to cry out, " Privilege! privilege!" to the common council of the city, and made his complaint to them. The common council only anfwered his complaints with a contemptuous filence; and on his return, one of the populace, more infolent than the rest, cried out, " To your tents, O Ifrael!" a watch word among the Jews, when they intended to abandon their princes.

When the commons were affembled the next day, they affected the greatest terror, and passed

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tru rec an unanimous vote that the king had violated their privileges, and that they could not affemble again in the same place, till they should have obtained satisfaction, with a guard for their security. They ascribed the last measure of the king to the counsels of the papists, and the city was thus filled with

groundless consternation.

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As the commons had artfully kept up their panic, in order to enflame the populace, and as the city was now only one scene of confusion, the king, afraid of exposing himself to any fresh infult from the fury of the populace, retired to Windfor, overwhelmed with grief, shame, and There he began to reflect on the rashremorfe. nels of his former proceedings; and now too late refolved to make some atonement. He therefore wrote to the parliament, informing them, that he defisted from his former proceedings against the accused members; and affured them, that upon all occasions he would be as careful of their privileges as of his life or his crown. Thus his former violence had rendered him hateful to his commons, and his present submission now rendered him contemptible.

The commons had already stript the king of almost all his privileges; the bishops were fled, the judges were intimidated; it now only remained that, after securing the church and the law, they shou'd get possession of the sword also. The power of appointing governors, generals, and levying armies, was still a remaining prerogative of the crown. Having, therefore, first magnified the terrors of popery, which perhaps they actually dreaded, they proceeded to petition that the Tower might be put into their hands, and that Hull, Portsmouth, and the fleet, should be intrusted to persons of their choosing. These were requests, the complying with which levelled all that remained of the ancient constitution; how-

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ever,

ever, fuch was the necessity of the times, that they were at first contested, and then granted. At last, every compliance only increasing the avidity of making fresh demands, the commons defired to have a militia, raifed and governed by such officers and commanders as they should nominate. under pretext of fecuring them from the Irish papifts, of whom they were in great apprehensions.

It was here that Charles first ventured to put a stop to his concessions; and that not by a refusal, but a delay. He was at that time at Dover, attending the queen, and the princess of Orange, who had thought prudent to leave the kingdom. He replied to the petition of the commons, that he had not now leifure to confider a matter of such great importance; and therefore would defer an answer till his return. But the commons were well aware, that though this was depriving him even of the shadow of power; yet they had now gone too far to recede, and were therefore desirous of leaving him no authority whatfoever, as being conscious that themselves would be the first victims to its fury. They alledged, that the dangers and diffempers of the nation were fuch as could endure no longer delay; and unless the king speedily complied with their demands, they should be obliged, both for his safety and that of the kingdom, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both houses, and were resolved to do it accordingly. In their remonstrances to the king, they defired even to be permitted to command the army for an appointed time; which so exasperated him, that he exclaimed, "No, not for an hour." This peremptory refusal broke off all further treaty; and both fides were now refolved to have recourle to arms.

Charles, taking the prince of Wales with him, retired to York, where he found the people more loyal, and less infected with the religious frenzy

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of the times. He found his cause there backed by a more numerous party than he had expected among the people. The queen, who was in Holland, was making fuccessful levies of men and ammunition, by felling the crown-jewels. But before war was openly declared the shadow of a negotiation was carried on, rather to ferve as a pretence to the people, than with a real defign of reconciliation. The king offered proposals to the commons, which he knew they would not accept; and they, in return, submitted nineteen propositions to his consideration, which, if complied with, would have rendered him entirely fubfervient to their commands. Their import was, that the privy-council, the principal officers of state, the governors of the king's children, the commanders of the forts, his fleet, and army, should be all appointed by, and under the control of parliament; that papifts should be punished by their authority; that the church and liturgy should be reformed at their discretion; and that fuch members as had been displaced, should be restored. These proposals, which, if they had been complied with, would have moulded the government into an aristocracy, were, happily for posterity, rejected by the king. "Should I grant " these demands, said he, in his reply, I might " be waited on bare-headed; I might have my " hand kiffed, the title of majesty be conti-" nued to me, and the king's authority fignified " by both houses of parliament, might be still " the style of your commands; I might have " fwords and maces carried before me, and please " myself with the fight of a crown and sceptre " (though even these twigs would not long flou-" rish, when the stock upon which they grew " was dead:) but as to true and real power, I H 5 " should

"hould remain but the outfide, but the picture, but the fign of a king." War on any terms was, therefore, esteemed preferable to such an ignominious peace. Thus the king and his parliament mutually reproached each other for beginning a scene of slaughter, of which both were equally culpable.

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CHAP. XXXI.

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CHARLES I. (Continued.)

O period fince England began could fhew so many instances of courage, 1042. abilities, and virtue, as the present fatal opposition called forth into exertion. Now was the time when talents of all kinds, unchecked by authority, were called from the lower ranks of life to dispute for power and pre-eminence. Both fides, equally confident of the justice of their cause, appealed to God to judge of the rectitude of their intentions. The parliament was convinced that it fought for Heaven, by afferting its regards for a peculiar mode of worship; and the king was not less convinced that his claims were facred, as he had ever been taught to confider them as of divine original. Thus passion and enthusiasm on each fide animated the combatants; and courage, rather than conduct among these undisciplined troops, decided the fortune of the day.

Never was contest more unequal than seemed at first between the contending parties; the king being entirely destitute of every advantage. His revenue had been seized by parliament; all the seaport towns were in their hands, except Newcastle, and thus they were possessed of the customs, which these could supply; the sleet was at their disposal; all magazines of arms and ammunition were seized for their use; and they had the wishes of all the

most active members of the nation.

To oppose this, the king had that acknowledged reverence which was paid to royalty, to give fanction to his cause. The greater part of the nobility adhered to him, as their distinctions must rise or

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fall with the fource of honour. Most of the men of education also, and the ancient gentry, still considered loyalty as a virtue, and armed their tenants and servants in his cause. With these solutions and hopes, therefore, he resolved to take the field, and erected the royal standard at Nottingham.

Manifestoes on the one side and the other were now dispersed throughout the whole kingdom; and the people were universally divided between two sactions, distinguished by the names of Cavaliers and Roundheads. The king, to bind himself by the most solemn engagements to his people, made the following protestation before his whole army.

"I do promise, in the presence of almighty "God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power,
defend and maintain the true reformed protest-

" ant religion, established in the church of England; and, by the grace of God, in the same

" will live and die.

"I desire that the laws may be ever the measure of my government, and that the liberty and property of the subject may be preserved by them with the same care as my own just rights. And if it please God by his blessing on this army, raised for my necessary desence, to preserve me from the present rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and treedom of parliament, and to govern, to the utmost of my power, by the known statutes and customs of the kingdom; and particularly to observe invisionably the laws to which I have given my consent this parliament. Mean while, if this emergence; and the great necessity to which I am

"driven, beget any violation of law, I hope it hall be imputed by God and man to the au-

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"thors of this war, not to me, who have so ear-" neftly laboured to preferve the peace of the

" kingdom.

"When I willingly fail in these particulars, I " shall expect no aid or relief from man, nor any " protection from above. But in this resolution "I hope for the chearful affiftance of all good "men, and am confident of the bleffing of " heaven."

The fincerity with which this speech was delivered, and the justice of its contents, served to strengthen the king's cause. At first he appeared in a very low condition; besides the train bands of the county, raised by Sir John Digby, the theriff, he had not got together three hundred infantry. His cavalry which composed his chief strength, exceeded not eight hundred, and were very ill provided with arms. However, he was foon gradually reinforced from all quarters; but not being then in a condition to face his enemies, he thought it prudent to retire by flow marches to Derby, and thence to Shrewsbury, in order to countenance the levies which his friends were mak-

ing in those quarters.

In the mean time, the parliament were not remiss in preparations on their side. They had a magazine of arms at Hull, and Sir John Hotham was appointed governor of that place by parliament. Charles had some time before presented himself before that town, but was refused admisfion: and from this they drew their principal re-The forces also, which had been every where raised on pretence of the service of Ireland, were now more openly enlifted by the parliament for their own purposes; and the command given to the earl of Effex, a bold man, who rather defired to fee monarchy abridged, than totally destroyed. In London, no less than four thousand

men

men were enlifted in one day; and the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to subscribe, that they would live and die with their general. Orders were also iffued out for loans of money and plate, which were to defend the king, and both houses of parliament: for they still preserved this style. This brought immense quantities of plate to the treasury; and so great was men's ardour in the cause, that there was more than they could find room for. By these means they found themselves in a short time at the head of fixteen thousand men; and the earl of Effex led them towards Northampton against the

king.

The army of the royalists was not so great as that of Essex; however it was supposed to be better disciplined, and better conducted. The two fons of the unfortunate Elector Palatine, prince Rupert and prince Maurice, offered their services to the king, and were gladly accepted. A flight advantage gained by prince Rupert over colorel Sandys, in the beginning, gave great hopes of his future activity, and inspired the army with resolution to hazard a battle. So little were both armies skilled in the arts and stratagems of war, that they were within fix miles of each other before they were acquainted with their mutual approach; and, what is remarkable, they had been ten days within twenty miles of each other without knowing it.

Edge-Hill was the first place where the two armies were put in array against each other, and the country first drenched in civil slaughter. It was a dreadful fight, to fee above thirty thousand of the bravest men in the world, instead of employing their courage abroad, turning it against each other, while the dearest friends, and the nearest kinsmen, embraced opposite sides, and prepared to bury their

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private regards in factious hatred. In the beginning of this engagement, Sir Faithful Fortescue, who had levied a troop for the Irish war, but had been obliged to ferve in the parliamentary army, deferted to the royalists; and so intimidated the parliamentary forces, that the whole body of cavalry fled. The right wing of their army followed the example; but the victors too eagerly pursuing, Effex's body of referve wheeled upon the rear of the pursuers, and made great havock among them. After the royalists had a little recovered from their furprize, they made a vigorous stand; and both fides, for a time, stood gazing at each other; without sufficient courage to renew the attack. They all night lay under arms, and next morning found themselves in fight of each other; this had been the time for the king to have ftruck a decifive blow; he lost the opportunity, and both fides separated- with equal loss. Five thousand men are faid to have been found dead on the field of battle,

It would be tedious, and no way inftructive, to enter into the marchings, and countermarchings of these undisciplined and ill conducted armies: war was a new trade to the English, as they had not feen an hostile engagement in the island for near a century before. The queen came to reinforce the royal party; she had brought foldiers and ammunition from Holland, and immediately departed to furnish more. But the parliament, who knew its own strength, was no way discouraged. Their demands seemed to increase in proportion to their losses; and as they were repressed in the field, they grew more haughty in the cabinet. Such governors as gave up their fortreffes to the king, were attainted of high treafon. It was in vain for the king to fend propofals after any fuccess, this only raised their pride

and their animosity. But though this desire in the king to make peace with his subjects was the highest encomium on his humanity, yet his long negotiations, one of which he carried on at Oxford, were faulty as a warrior. He wasted that time in altercation and treaty, which he should have em-

ployed in vigorous exertions in the field.

However, his first campaign, upon the whole, wore a favourable aspect. One victory followed after another; Cornwall was reduced to peace and obedience under the king: a victory was gained over the parliamentarians at Stratton Hill, in Devonshire, another at Roundaway Down, about two miles from the Devizes; and still a third at Chalgrave field. Bristol was besieged and taken; and Gloucester was besieged: the battle of Newbury was favourable to the royal cause, and great hopes of success were formed from an army in the North, raised by the marquis of Newcastle.

But in this campaign, the two bravest and greatest men of their respective parties were killed; as if it was intended, by the kindness of Providence, that they should be exempted from seeing the miseries and the slaughter which were shortly to ensue. These were John Hampden,

and Lucius Cary, lord Falkland.

In an incursion made by prince Rupert to within about two miles of the enemies quarters, a great booty was obtained. This the parliamentarians attempted to rescue; and Hampden at their head, overtook the royalists on Chalgrave Field. As he was ever the first to enter into the thickest of the battle, he was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broke. Some days after, he died in great pain; nor could his whole party, had their army met a total overthrow, have been cast into greater consternation.

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Even Charles his enemy felt for his disafter, and offered his own surgeon to affish his cure. Hampden, whom we have seen in the beginning of these troubles refuse to pay ship-money, gained, by his inflexible integrity, the esteem even of his enemies. To these he added affability in conversation, temper, art, eloquence in debate, and penetration in counsel.

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But Falkland was still a greater loss, and a greater character. He added to Hampden's severe principles, a politeness and elegance, but then beginning to be known in England. He had boldly withstood the king's pretensions, while he saw him making a bad use of his power; but when he perceived the defign of the parliament, to overturn the religion and the constitution of his country, he changed his fide, and stedfastly attached himself to the crown. From the beginning of the civil war, his natural chearfulness and vivacity forfook him; he became melancholy, fad, pale, and negligent of his person. When the two armies were in fight of each other, and preparing for the battle of Newbury, he appeared defirous of terminating his life, fince he could not compose the miseries of his Still anxious for his country alone, he dreaded the too prosperous success of his own party, as much as that of the enemy; and he profeffed that its miseries had broken his heart. usual cry among his friends, after a deep tilence, and frequent fighs, was Peace! Peace! He now faid, upon the morning of the engagement, that he was weary of the times, and should leave them before night. He was shot by a musquet-ball in the belly; and his body was next morning found among an heap of flain. His writings, his elegance, his justice, and his courage, deserved such a death of glory: and they found it.

The king, that he might make preparations during the winter for the ensuing campaign, and to oppose the designs of the Westminster parliament, called one at Oxford; and this was the first time that England saw two parliaments sitting at the same time. His house of peers was pretty full; his house of commons consisted of about an hundred and forty, which amounted to not above half of the other house of commons. From this shadow of a parliament he received some supplies, aster which it was prorogued, and never after assembled.

In the mean time the parliament was equally active on their fide. They passed an ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London and its neighbourhood to retrench a meal a week, and to pay the value of it for the support of the public cause. But what was much more effectual, the Scotch, who considered their claims as similar, led a strong army to their assistance. They levied an army of sourteen thousand men in the east, under the earl of Manchester; they had an army of ten thousand men under Essex, another of nearly the same force, under Sir William Waller. These were superior to any force the king could bring into the field; and were well appointed with ammunition, provisions, and pay.

Hostilities, which even during the winA. D. ter season had never been wholly disconti1644. nued, were renewed in spring with their
usual sury, and served to desolate the kingdom, without deciding victory. Each county
joined that side to which it was addicted from motives of conviction, interest, or fear, though some
observed a perfect neutrality. Several frequently
petitioned for peace; and all the wise and good
were earnest in the cry. What particularly deserves remark, was an attempt of the women of
London;

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fio efficient London; who, to the number of two or three thousand, went in a body to the house of commons, earnestly demanding a peace. "Give us those traitors, said they, that are against a peace; give them, that we may tear them in pieces." The guards found some difficulty in quelling this infurrection, and one or two women lost their lives in

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The battle of Marston-Moor was the beginning of the king's misfortunes and difgrace. Scotch and parliamentarian army had joined, and were befieging York; when prince Rupert, joined by the marquis of Newcastle, determined to raise the fiege. Both fides drew up on Marston-Moor, to the number of fifty thousand, and the victory feemed long undecided between them. Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the royalifts, was opposed by Oliver Cromwell, who now first came into notice, at the head of a body of troops, whom he had taken care to levy and discipline. Cromwell was victorious; he pushed his opponents off the field, followed the vanquished, returned to a fecond engagement, and a fecond victory; the prince's whole train of artillery was taken, and the royalists never after recovered the blow.

While the king was unfortunate in the field, he was not more successful in negotiation. A treaty was begun at Uxbridge, which, like all others, The puritans demanded a total came to nothing. abolition of episcopacy, and all church ceremonies; and these Charles, from conviction, from interest, and persuasion, was not willing to permit. He had all along adhered to the episcopal jurisdiction, not only because it was favourable to monarchy, but because all his adherents were pasfionately devoted to it. He esteemed bishops as effential to the christian church; and thought himfelf bound, not only by temporal, but facred ties,

to defend them. The parliament was as obstistately bent upon removing this order; and to shew their resolution, began with the foremost of the number.

William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, as we have already feen, had been imprisoned in the Tower at the same time with Strafford; and he had patiently endured fo long a confinement, without being brought to any trial. He was now, therefore, accused of high treason, in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and mildemeanors. The groundless charge of popery, which his life, and afterwards his death belied, was urged against him. In his defence, he spoke several hours, with that courage which feems the refult of innocence and integrity. The lords, who were his judges, appeared willing to acquit him; but the commons, his accusers, finding how his trial was likely to go, passed an ordinance for his execution, and terrified the lords who continued obstinate to give their consent. Seven peers alone voted in this important question; all the rest, either from shame or fear, did not appear. When brought to the scaffold, this venerable prelate, without any terror, but in the usual tone of his exhortations from the pulpit, made the people a long speech. He told them that he had examined his heart; and thanked God that he found no fins there, which deserved the death he was going to suffer. The king, he said, had been traduced by fome, as labouring to introduce popery; but he believed him as found a protestant as any man in the kingdom; and as for parliaments, though he disliked the conduct of one or two, yet he never defigned to change the laws of his country, or the protestant religion. After he had prayed for a few minutes, the executioner severed his head at a blow. It is indeed a melancholy confideration men we

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deration, that in these times of trouble, the best men were those on either side who chiefly suffered.

The death of Laud was followed by a total alteration of the ceremonies of the church. The Liturgy was, by a public act, abolished the day he died, as if he had been the only obstacle to its former removal. The church of England was in all respects brought to a conformity to the puritanical establishment; while the citizens of London, and the Scotch army, gave public thanks for so

happy an alteration.

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The total abolition of the reformed religion, as established by queen Elizabeth, seemed at first to promise vigour and consistence to the counsels of the parliamentarians. But such is the nature of man, that if he does not find, he makes opposition. From the moment the puritans began to be apparently united, and ranked under one denomination of presbyterians, they began again to divide into sresh parties, each professing different views and interests. One part of the house was composed of Presbyterians, strictly so called; the other, though a minority, of Independents, a new sect that had lately been introduced, and gained ground surprisingly.

The difference between these two sects would be hardly worth mentioning, did not their religious opinions influence their political conduct. The church of England, as we have seen, had appointed bishops of clerical ordination, and a book of common prayer. The presbyterians exclaimed against both; they were for having the church governed by clergymen elected by the people, and prayers made without premeditation. The independents went still farther; they excluded all the clergy, they maintained that every man might pray in public, exhort his audience, and explain the scriptures. Their political system kept pace with

with their religious. Not contented with reducing the king to a first magistrate, which was the aim of the prefbyterians, this feet aspired at the abolition not only of all monarchy, but of all subordinati-They maintained, and they maintained right, that all men were born equal; but they alledged also, that no accidental or artificial institutions could destroy this equality; and there they were deceived. Could fuch a plan of government as theirs be practicable, it would no doubt be the most happy; but the wife and industrious must in every country prevail over the weak and idle; and the bad fuccess of the independent scheme soon after shewed how ill adapted such speculative ideas were to human infirmity. Possessed, however, with an high idea of their own rectitude, both in religion and politics, they gave way to a furly pride, which is ever the refult of narrow manners and folitary thinking.

These were a body of men that were now growing into consideration; their apparent fanctity, their natural courage excited by enthusiasm, and their unceasing perseverance, began to work considerable effects; and tho' they were out-numbered in the house of commons, which was composed of more enlightened minds, they formed a majority in the army, made up chiefly of the lowest of

the vulgar.

The royalists endeavoured to throw a ridicule on this fanaticism, without being sensible how much reason they had to apprehend its dangerous consequences. The forces of the king were united by much feebler ties; and license among them, which had been introduced by the want of pay, had arisen to a dangerous height, rendering them as formidable to their friends as their enemies. To increase this unpopularity, the king finding the parliament of Scotland as well as that of England declaring

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declaring against him, thought proper to make a truce with the papifts of Ireland, in order to bring over the English forces who served in that kingdom. With these troops he also received some of the native Irish into his service, who still retained their fierceness and their barbarity. This gave the parliament a plaufible opportunity of upbraiding him with taking papifts into his service, and gave a colour to the ancient calual ny of his having ex-Unfortunately, too foon afcited them to rebel. ter it was found, that they rather increased the hatred of his subjects, than added to the strength of his army. They were routed by Fairfax, one of the generals of the parliament army; and though they threw down their arms, they were flaughtered It is faid that feveral women were without mercy. found among the flain, who with long knives had done confiderable execution; but the animofity of the English against these wretches at that time, might have given rife to the report.

These misfortunes were soon after succeeded by another. Charles, who had now retired to Oxford, found himself at the head of a turbulent seditious army, who, from wanting pay, were scarcely subject to control; while, on the other hand, the parliamentarians were well supplied and paid, and held together from principle. The parliament, to give them an example of difinterestednels in their own conduct, passed an act, called the Self-denying ordinance, which deserved all commendation. They resolved, lest it should be suggelted by the nation that their intent was to make themselves matters, that no member of their house thould have a command in the army. mer generals were therefore changed; the earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester, gave up their commissions; and Fairfax, who was now appointed general with Cromwell, who found means to

keep at once his feat and his commission, new modelled the army. This, which might at first have seemed to weaken their forces, gave them new spirit; and the soldiers, become more consident in

their new commanders, were irrefistible.

Never was a more fingular army affembled than that which now drew the fword in the parliamen-The officers exercised the office of tary cause. chaplains; and, during the intervals of action. instructed their troops by fermons, prayers, and Rapturous ecstasies supplied the exhortations. place of study and reflection; and while they kindled as they spoke, they ascribed their own warmth to a descent of the spirit from heaven. The private foldiers, feized with the same spirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in perufing the holy scriptures, in ghostly conferences. When marching to the field of battle, the hymn and the ejaculation, mixed their notes with those of the trumpet. An army thus actuated became invincible.

June 14, cided the fate of Charles, was fought at 1645. Naseby, a village in Yorkshire. The

main body of the royal army was commanded by lord Astley, prince Rupert led the right wing, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the lest, and the king himself headed the body of reserve. On the opposite side, Fairfax and Skippon commanded the main body; Cromwell led on the right wing, and Ireton, his son-in-law, the lest. Prince Rupert attacked the lest wing with his usual impetuosity and success; they were broke and pursued as far as the village; but he lost time in attempting to make himself master of their artillery. Cromwell, in the mean time, was equally successful on his side, and broke through the enemies horse after a very obstinate resistance. While these were thus engaged, the infantry on both sides maintain-

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ed the conflict with equal ardour; but in spite of the efforts of Fairfax and Skippon, their battalions began to give way. But it was now that Cromwell returned with his victorious forces, and charged the king's infantry in flank with fuch vigour, that a total rout began to ensue. By this time prince Rupert had rejoined the king, and the small body of reserve; but his troops, though victorious, could not be brought to a fecond charge. They were at all times licentious and ungovernable; but they were now intimidated; for the parliamentarians having recovered from the first shock, food ready in order of battle to receive them. The king was defirous of charging them at the head of his referve; but the earl of Carnwarth, who rode by his majesty's side, seizing the bridle of his horse, turned him round, saying, with a loud oath, " Will you go upon your death in an "inftant?" The troops feeing this motion, wheeled to the right, and rode off in fuch confufion, that they could not be rallied again during the rest of the day. The king perceiving the battle wholly loft, was obliged to abandon the field to his enemies, who took all his cannon, baggage, and above five thousand prisoners.

This fatal blow the king never after recovered; his army was dispersed, and the conquerors made as many captives as they thought proper. Among the other speils taken on this occasion, the king's cabinet of letters was seized, in which was contained all his private correspondence with the queen. These were shortly after published by the command of the parliament, who took a vulgar and brutal pleasure in ridiculing all those tender effusions which were never drawn up for the public

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The battle of Naseby put the parliamentarians in possession of almost all the strong cities of the Vol. III. I kingdom.

kingdom. Briftol, Bridgewater, Chefter, Sherborn, and Bath. Exeter was besieged: and all the king's troops in the western counties being entirely dispersed, Fairfax pressed the place, and it furrendered at discretion. The king's interests feemed going to ruin on every quarter. Scotch army, which, as has been faid, took part with the parliament, having made themselves masters of Carlifle after an obstinate fiege, marched fouth and laid fiege to Hereford. Another engagement followed between the king and the parliamentarians, in which his forces were put to the rout by colonel Jones, a thousand of his men made prisoners, and five hundred flain. Thus furrounded, haraffed on every fide, he retreated to Oxford, that in all conditions of his fortune had held steady to his cause; and there he resolved to offer new terms to his victorious pursuers.

Nothing could be more affecting than the king's fituation during his abode at Oxford. Saddened by his late melancholy difasters, impressed with the apprehensions of such as hung over him, harassed by the murmurs of those who had followed his cause, and stung with sorrow for his incapacity to relieve them. He now was willing to grant the parliament their own terms, and at any rate to procure a reconciliation. He therefore sent them repeated messages to this purpose, but they never deigned to make him the least reply. At last, aster reproaching him with the blood spilt during the war, they told him that they were preparing some bills, to which if he would consent, they would then be able to judge of his pacific inclina-

tions.

In the mean time Fairfax was approaching with a powerful and victorious army, and was taking the proper measures of laying siege to Oxford, which promised an easy surrender. To be taken captive, captive jects, ry infu foldiery In this which, der the He refe who has against rest.

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captive, and led in triumph by his infolent subjects, was what Charles justly abhorred; and every insult and violence was to be dreaded from the soldiery, who had felt the effects of his opposition. In this desperate extremity he embraced a measure which, in any other situation, might justly lie under the imputation of imprudence and indiscretion. He resolved to give himself up to the Scotch army, who had never testified such implacable animosity against him, and to trust to their loyalty for the rest.

That he might the better conceal his design from the people of Oxford, orders were given at every gate of the city for allowing three persons to pass. In the night, the king, accompanied by one doctor Hudson, and Mr. Ashburnham, took the road towards London, travelling as Ashburnham's servant. He, in sact, came so near London, that he once entertained some thoughts of entering that city, and of throwing himself on the mercy of the parliament. At last, after passing through many cross-roads and bye-ways, he arrived at the Scotch camp before Newark, and Jan. 30 discovered himself to lord Leven, the 1646.

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The Scotch, who had before given him some general assurances of their sidelity and protection, now seemed greatly surprised at his arrival among them. Instead of bestowing a thought on his interests, they instantly entered into a consultation upon their own. The comissioners of their army sent up an account of the king's arrival to the parliament, and declared, that his coming was altogether uninvited and unexpected. In the mean time they prevailed upon the king to give directions for surrendering all his garrisons to the parliament, with which he complied. In return for this condescension they treated him with very long sermons I 2 among

among the ecclefiaftics, and with the most cautious reserve, but very different from respect, among the officers. The preachers of the party indeed insulted him from the pulpit; and one of them, after reproaching him to his face with his misconduct, ordered that psalm to be sung, which begins,

"Why dost thou, Tyrant, boast thyself

Thy wicked deeds to praise."

The king stood up, and called for that Psalm, which begins with these words:

" Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray,

For men would me devour."

The audience accordingly fung this Pfalm in com-

passion to majesty in distress.

The parliament being informed of the king's captivity, immediately entered into a treaty with the Scotch about delivering up their prisoner. The Scotch had, from their first entrance into England, been allowed pay by the parliament, in order to prevent their plundering the country; much of this, however, remained unpaid, from the unavoidable necessities of the times, and much more was claimed by the Scotch than was really due. Nevertheless, they now saw this a convenient time for infifting on their arrears; and they resolved to make the king the instrument by which this money was to be obtained. After various debates upon this head between them and the parliament, in which they pretended to great honour, and infifted upon many punctilios, they agreed, that upon payment of four hundred thousand pounds they would deliver up the king to his enemies, and this was chearfully complied with. An action fo atrocious may be palliated, but can never be defended; they returned home laden with plunder, and the reproaches of all good men.

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From this period, to the despotic government of Cromwell, the constitution was convulsed with all the agitations of faction, guilt, ignorance, and enthusiasm. The kingly power being laid low, the parliament attempted to assume the rein; but they were soon to submit in turn to the military power, which, like all democracies, was turbulent, transient, feeble and bloody.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

CHARLES I. (Continued.)

THE king being delivered over by the Scotch to the parliamentary commissioners, he was conducted under a guard to Holmby Castle, in Northamptonshire. They treated him in confinement with the most rigorous severity, dismissing all his ancient servants, debarring him from all visits, and cutting off all communication with his

friends and family.

The civil war was now over; the king had abfolved his followers from their allegiance, and the
parliament had now no enemy to fear, except those
very troops by which they had extended their overgrown authority. But in proportion as the terror
of the king's power diminished, the divisions between the independents and the presbyterians became more apparent. The majority in the house
were of the presbyterian sect; but the majority of
the army were staunch independents. At the head
of this sect was Cromwell, who secretly directed its
operations, and invigorated all their measures.

Oliver Cromwell, whose talents now began to appear in sull lustre, was the son of a private gentleman of Huntingdon; but being the son of a second brother, he inherited a very small paternal fortune. He had been sent to Cambridge; but his inclinations not at that time turning to the calm occupations of elegant literature, he was remarkable only for the profligacy of his conduct, and the wasting his paternal fortune. It was, perhaps, his poverty that induced him to fall into the opposite extreme shortly after; for, from being one of the most debauched men in the kingdom,

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he became the most rigid and abstemious. The fame vehemence of temper, which had transported him into the extremes of pleasure, now distinguished his religious habits. He endeavoured to improve his shattered fortunes by agriculture; but this expedient served only to plunge him in further difficulties. He was even determined to go over and fettle in New-England; but was hindered by the king's ordinance to the contrary. From accident or intrigue, he was chosen member for the town of Cambridge, in the long parliament; but he seemed at first to possels no talents for oratory, his person being ungraceful, his dress flovenly, his elocution homely, tedious, obscure, and embarrassed. He made up, however, by zeal and perseverance, what he wanted in natural powers; and being endowed with unshaken intrepidity, much diffimulation, and a thorough conviction of the rectitude of his cause, he rose, through the gradations of preferment, to the post of lieutenant-general under Fairfax; but, in reality, possessing the supreme command over the whole army.

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Soon after the retreat of the Scotch, the prefbyterian party, seeing every thing reduced to obedience, began to talk of dismissing a considerable part of the army, and to send the rest to Ireland. It may easily be supposed, that for every reason the army were as unwilling to disband, as to be led over into a country as yet uncivilized, uncultivated, and barbarous. Cromwell took care to inspire them with an horror of either; they loved him for his bravery and religious zeal, and still more for his seeming affection to them. Instead, therefore, of preparing to disband, they resolved to petition; and they began by desiring an indemnity, ratified by the king, for any illegal actions which they might have committed during the war. This

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the commons, in turn, treated with great feverity; they voted, that this petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, to obstruct the relief of the kingdom of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed against the promoters of it as enemies to the state and distur-

bers of the public peace.

The army now began to consider themselves as a body distinct from the commonwealth; and complained, that they had secured the general tranquillity, while they were, at the fame time, deprived of the privileges of Englishmen. In opposition, therefore, to the parliament at Westminster, a military parliament was formed, composed of the officers and common soldiers of each regiment. The principal officers formed a council to represent the body of peers; the soldiers elected two men out of each company to represent the house of commons, and these were called the Agitators of the army. Cromwell took care to be one of the number, and thus contrived an easy method under-hand of conducting and promoting the fedition of the army.

This fierce affembly having debated for a very short time, declared, that they found many grievances to be redressed; and began by specifying such as they desired to be most speedily removed. The very same conduct which had formerly been used with success by the parliament against their sovereign, was now put in practice by the army against the parliament. As the commons granted every request, the agitators rose in their demands; these accused the army of mutiny and sedition; the army retorted the charge, and alledged, that the king had been deposed only to make way for their

usurpations.

The unhappy king, in the mean time, continued a prisoner at Holmby castle; and as his countenance

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tenance might add fome authority to that fide which should obtain it, Cromwell, who secretly conducted all the measures of the army, while he apparently exclaimed against their violence, refolved to seize the king's person. Accordingly a party of five hundred horse appeared at Holmby castle, under the command of one Joyce, who had been originally a taylor; but who, in the present confusion of all ranks and orders, was advanced to the rank of cornet. Without any opposition he entered the king's apartment, armed with pistols, and told him, that he must prepare to go with him. Whither? faid the king. the army, replied Joyce. By what warrant? asked the the king. Joyce pointed to his followers. "Your warrant, replied Charles, is wrote " in fair characters." And then without further delay he went into his coach, and was fafely conducted to the army who were hastening to their rendezvous at Triploheath, near Cambridge. The next day Cromwell arrived among them, where he was received with acclamations of joy, and was instantly invested with the supreme command.

It was now that the commons perceived a fettled defign in the army to prescribe laws to their employers; and they did not fail to spread the alarm through the city. But it was too late to resist; the army, with Cromwell at their head, advanced with precipitation, and arrived in a few days at St. Alban's; so that the commons now began to think of temporizing. The declaration, by which they had voted the military petitioners enemies to the state, was recalled, and erazed from their journal book. But all submission was become vain; the army still rose in their demands, in proportion as those demands were gratisted, until at last they entirely threw off the mask, and

claimed a right of modelling the whole govern-

ment, and fettling the nation.

But as too precipitate an affumption of authority might appear invidious, Cromwell began by accusing eleven members of the house as guilty of high treason, and enemies to the army. The members accused were the very leaders of the presbyterian party, the very men who had prescribed such rigorous measures to the king, and now, in their turn, were threatened with popular resentment. As they were the leading men in the house, the commons were willing to protect them; but the army infifting on their difmission, they voluntarily left the house, rather than be compelled to withdraw.

At last, the citizens of London, who had been ever foremost in sedition, began to open their eyes. and to perceive that the constitution was totally They saw an oppressive parliament overturned. now subjected to a more oppressive army; they found their religion abolished, their king a captive, and no hopes of redress but from another scene of flaughter. In this exigence, therefore, the common-council affembled the militia of the city; the works were manned, and a manifesto published, aggravating the hostile intentions of the army. Finding that the house of commons, in compliance with the request of the army, had voted that the city militia should be disbanded, the multitude rofe, befieged the door of the house, and obliged them to reverse that vote which they had passed so lately.

In this manner was this wretched house intimidated on either fide, obliged at one time to obey the army, at another, to comply with the clamours of the city rabble. This affembly was, in consequence, divided into parties, as usual, one part fiding with the feditious citizens; while the minerity,

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minority, with the two speakers at their head, were for encouraging the army. In such an universal consussion, it is not to be expected that any thing less than a separation of the parties could take place; and accordingly the two speakers, with fixty two members, secretly retired from the house, and threw themselves under the protection of the army that were then at Hounslow-heath. They were received with shouts and acclamations, their integrity was extolled, and the whole body of the soldiery, a formidable force of twenty thousand men, now moved forward to reinstate them in their former seats and stations.

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In the mean time, that part of the house that was left behind, resolved to act with vigour, and refift the encroachments of the army. They chose new speakers, they gave orders for enlisting troops, they ordered the train bands to man the lines; and the whole city, boldly resolved to reiss the invasion. But this resolution only held while the enemy was thought at a distance, for when the formidable force of Cromwell appeared, all was obedience and fubmission; the gates were opened to the general, who attended the two speakers, and the rest of the members, peaceably to their The eleven impeached members, being accused as causes of the tumult, were expelled, and most of them retired to the continent. mayor, sheriff, and three aldermen, were fent to the Tower; feveral citizens, and officers of militia, were committed to prison, and the lines about the city were levelled to the ground. The command of the Tower was given to Fairfax, the general; and the parliament ordered him their hearty thanks for having disobeyed their commands.

It now only remained to dispose of the king, who had been sent by the army a prisoner to Hampton-

Hampton-Court. The independent army, at the head of whom was Cromwell, on one hand; and the presbyterians in the name of either house, on the other hand, treated separately with him in pri-He had at one time even hopes, that in these struggles for power he might have been chosen mediator in the dispute; and he expected that the kingdom, at last sensible of the miseries of anarchy, would, like a froward child, hushed with its own importunities, settle into its former tranquil Hovever, in all his miferies and constitution. doubts, though at first led about with the army, and afterwards kept a prisoner by them at Hampton, such was his admirable equality of temper, that no difference was perceived in his countenance and behaviour. Though a captive in the hands of his most inveterate enemies, he still supported the dignity of a monarch; and he never one moment funk from the consciousness of his own superiority.

It is true, that at first he was treated with some flattering marks of distinction; he was permitted to converse with his old servants, his chaplains were admitted to attend him, and celebrate divine service their own way. But the most exquisite pleasure he enjoyed was in the company of his children, with whom he had several interviews. The meeting on these occasions was so pathetic, that Cromwell himself, who was once present, could not help being moved; he was heard to declare, that he had never beheld such an affecting scene before; and we must do justice to this man's feelings, as he was himself a tender

father.

But those flattering instances of respect and submission were of no long continuance. As soon as the army had gained a complete victory over the house of commons, the independents began to abate abate o The ki they wo with hi mark a hour th contriva his perf that cu raising ! the dan length draw I dered t would he shou aggrava

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abate of their expressions of duty and respect. The king therefore was now more frielly guarded: they would hardly allow his domestics to converse with him in private, and spies were employed to mark all his words and actions. He was every hour threatened with false dangers of Cromwell's contrivance; by which he was taught to fear for his personal safety. The spies and creatures of that cunning man, were fedulously employed in raifing the king's terrors, and reprefenting to him the danger of his fituation. These, therefore, at length prevailed, and Charles resolved to withdraw himself from the army. Cromwell considered that if he should escape the kingdom, there would be then a theatre open to his ambition; if he should be apprehended, the late attempt would aggravate his guilt, and apologize for any succeed-

ing severity.

Early in the evening the king retired to his chamber, on pretence of being indisposed; and about an hour after midnight, he went down the the back stairs, attended by Ashburnham and Legg, both gentlemen of his bed-chamber. Sir John Berkeley waited for him at the garden-gate with horses, which they instantly mounted, and travelling through the Forest all night, arrived at Tichfield, the feat of the earl of Southampton. Before he arrived at this place, he went towards the shore, and expressed great anxiety that a ship, which Ashburnham had promised to be in readinels, was not to be feen. At Tichfield he deliberated with his friends upon his next excursion, and they advised him to cross over to the Isle of Wight, where Hammond was governor; who, though a creature of Cromwell's, was yet a nephew of one doctor Hammond, the king's chaplain. To this inaulpicious protector it was refolved to have recourse; Ashburnham and Berkeley

were fent before to exact a promise from this officer, that if he would not protect the king, he would not detain him. Hammond seemed surprised at their demand; expressed his inclination to serve his majesty, but at the same time alledged his duty to his employers. He therefore attended the king's gentlemen to Tichfield, with a guard of foldiers, and staid in a lower apartment while Ashburnham went up to the king's chamber. Charles no sooner understood that Hammond was in the house with a body of troops, than he exclaimed, " O Jack! thou hast undone me!" Ashburnham fhed a flood of tears, and offered to go down and dispatch the governor, but the king repressed When Hammond came into his his ardour. presence, he repeated his professions of regard; Charles submitted to his fate; and, without further delay, attended him to Carifbrook castle, in the Isle of Wight, where at first he found himself treated with marks of duty and respect.

While the king continued in this forlorn fituation, the parliament, new modelled as it was by the army, was every day growing more feeble and factious. Cromwell, on the other hand, was strengthening the army, and taking every precaution to repress any tendency to factious division among them. Nor were his fears without just cause; for had it not been for the quickness of his penetration, and the boldness of his activity, the whole army would have been thrown into a state

of ungovernable frenzy.

Among the independents, who, in general, were for having no ecclefiastical subordination, a set of men grew up called Levellers, who disallowed all subordination whatsoever, and declared that they would have no other chaplain, king, or general, but Christ. They declared that all men were equal;

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equal; that all degrees and ranks [should be levelled, and an exact partition of property established in the nation. This ferment spread through the army; and as it was a doctrine well fuited to the poverty of the daring foldiery, it promifed every day to become more dangerous and fatal. Several petitions were presented, urging the justice of a partition, and threatening vengeance in case of re-

fusing redress.

Cromwell now faw that he was upon the point of losing all the fruits of his former schemes and dangers, and dreaded this new faction still more, as they turned his own pretended principles against Thus finding all at stake, he resolved, by one resolute blow, to disperse the faction, or perish in the attempt. Having intimation that the levellers were to meet at a certain place, he unexpectedly appeared before the terrified affembly, at the head of his red regiment, which had been hitherto invincible. He demanded, in the name of God, what these meetings and murmurings meant: he expostulated with them upon the danger and consequence of their precipitate schemes, and defired them immediately to depart. But instead of obeying, they returned an infolent answer; wherefore, rushing on them in a fury, he laid, with his own hands, two of them dead at his feet. His guards dispersing the rest, he caused several of them to be hanged upon the spot, he sent others prisoners to London; and thus diffipated a faction, no otherwise criminal than in having followed his own example.

This action served still more to increase the power of Cromwell in the camp, and in the parhament; and while Fairfax was nominally general of the troops, he was invested with all the power. But his authority foon became irrefistible, in consequence of a new and unexpected addition to his The Scotch, perhaps ashamed of the fuccesses. reproach _

of having fold their king, and stimulated farther by the independents, who took all occasions to mortify them, raifed an army in his favour, and the chief command was given to the earl of Hamilton; while Langdale, who professed himself at the head of the more bigotted party, who had taken the covenant, marched at the head of his separate body, and both invaded the North of Their two armies amounted to above England. twenty thousand men. But Cromwell, at the head of eight thousand of his hardy veterans, feared not to give them battle; he attacked them one after the other, routed and dispersed them, took Hamilton prisoner; and, following his blow, entered Scotland, where he fettled the government entirely to his satisfaction. An insurrection in Kent was quelled by Fairfax, at the fame time, with the fame eafe; and nothing but fuccess attended all this bold usurper's criminal attempts.

During these contentions, the king, who was kept a prisoner at Carisbrook, continued to negotiate with the parliament for fettling the unspeakable calamities of the kingdom. The parliament faw no other method of destroying the military power, but to depress it by the kingly. Frequent proposals for an accommodation passed between the captive king and the commons; but the great obstacle which had all along stood in the way, still kept them from agreeing. This was the king's refusing to abolish episcopacy, though he consented to destroy the liturgy of the church. However, the treaty was still carried on with vigour, as the parliament had more to apprehend from the defigns of their generals, than from the attempts of the king; and, for the first time, they seemed in earnest to conclude their negotiations.

But all was now too late; their power was foon totally to expire, for the rebellious army, crowned with

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with success, was returned from the destruction of their enemies; and, sensible of their own power. with furious remonstrances began to demand vengeance on the king. At the fame time they advanced to Windfor; and fending an officer to feize the king's person, where he was lately sent under confinement, they conveyed him to Hurst-castle. in Hampshire, opposite the Isle of Wight. It was in vain that the parliament complained of this harsh proceeding, as being contrary to their approbation; it was in vain that they began to iffue ordinances for a more effectual opposition; they received a message from Cromwell, that he intended paying them a vifit the next day with his army; and in the mean time, ordered them to raife him forty thousand pounds upon the city of London.

The commons, however, though destitute of all hopes of prevailing, had still courage to refist, and attempted, in the face of the whole army, to close their treaty with the king. They had taken into confideration the whole of his concessions; and though they had formerly voted them unfatiffactory, they now renewed the consultation with After a violent debate, which had tresh vigour. lasted three days, it was carried in the king's fayour by a majority of an hundred and twentymine against eighty-three, that his concessions were a foundation for the houses to proceed upon in the fettlement of the kingdom. This was the last attempt in his favour; for the next day Colonel Pride, at the head of two regiments, blockaded the house, and seized in the passage forty one members of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room belonging to the house, that passed by the denomination of Hell. an hundred and fixty members more were excluded: and none were allowed to enter but the

the most furious and determined of the independents, in all not exceeding fixty. This atrocious invasion of the parliamentary rights, commonly passed by the name of Pride's purge, and the remaining members were called the Rump. These soon voted, that the transactions of the house a few days before were entirely illegal, and that their general's conduct was just and neces-

fary.

Nothing now remained after the constitution had been destroyed, after the parliament had been ejected, after the religion of the country had been abolished, after the bravest and the best of its subjects had been slain, but to murder the king! This vile parliament, if it now deserves the name, was composed of a medley of the most obscure citizens, and the officers of the army. In this affembly, therefore, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the king; and, on their report, a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament. It was therefore resolved that an High Court of Justice should be appointed to try his majesty for this new invented treason. For form sake they desired the concurrence of the few remaining lords in the other house; but here there was virtue enough left unanimously to reject the horrid propofal.

But the commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. They voted, that the concurrence of the house of lords was unnecessary; they voted, that the people were the origin of all just power, a fact which, though true, they could never bring home to themselves. To add to their zeal, a woman of Herefordshire, illuminated by prophetical visions, desired admittance, and communicated a revelation which she had received from heaven. She assured them that their measures

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fures were consecrated from above, and ratified by the sanction of the Holy Ghost. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed

them in their present resolutions.

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the king from Hurst-castle to Windsor, and from thence to London. His afflicted subjects, who ran to have a fight of their fovereign, were greatly affected at the change that appeared in his face and person. He had allowed his beard to grow; his hair was become venerably grey, rather by the pressure of anxiety than the hand of time; while the rest of his apparel bore the marks of misfortune and decay. Thus he flood a folitary figure of majesty in distress, which even his adversaries could not behold without reverence and compassion. He had been long attended only by an old decrepid fervant, whose name was Sir Philip Warwick, who could only deplore his master's fate, without being able to revenge his cause. All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were now withdrawn; and his new attendants had orders to ferve him without ceremony. duke of Hamilton, who was referved for the same punishment with his master, having leave to take a last farewell as he departed from Windsor, threw himself at the king's feet, crying out, " My dear master." The unhappy monarch raised him up, and embracing him tenderly, replied, while the tears ran down his cheeks, "I have indeed been a dear master to you." These were severe distresses; however, he could not be persuaded that his adversaries would bring him to a formal trial; but he every moment expected to be dispatched by private affaffination.

From the fixth, to the twentieth of January, was spent in making preparations for his extraordinary trial. The court of justice consisted of an hundred and thirty-three persons named by the commons;

commons; but of these never above seventy met upon the trial. The members were chiefly composed of the chief officers of the army, most of them of very mean birth, together with some of the lower house, and a sew citizens of London. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president, Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England, Dorislaus, Steele and Aske, were named assistants.

The court sat in Westminster-Hall.

The king was now conducted from Windsor to St. James's, and the next day was brought before the high court to take his trial. While the crier was calling over the names of the commissioners for trying him, no body answering for lord Fairfax, a semale voice from the gallery was heard to cry out, "He has more wit than to be here." When the impeachment was read in the name of the people of England, the same voice exclaimed, "No, nor a tenth part of them." Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box from whence the voice proceeded, it was discovered that these bold answers came from the lady Fairfax, who alone had courage to condemn their proceedings.

When the king was brought forward before the court, he was conducted by the mace-bearer to a chair placed within the bar. Tho' long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, he still sustained the dignity of a king; he surveyed the members of the court with a stern haughty air, and, without moving his hat, sat down, while the members also were covered. His charge was then read by the solicitor, accusing him of having been the cause of all the bloodshed which sollowed since the commencement of the war; at that part of the charge he could not suppress a smile of contempt and indignation. After the charge was sinished, Bradshaw directed his discourse to the

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king, and told him, that the court expected his answer.

The king with great temper entered upon his defence, by declining the authority of the court. He represented, that having been engaged in treaty with his two houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article, he expected a different treatment from that he now received. He perceived, he faid, no appearance of an upper house, which was necessary to constitute a just tribunal. That he was himself the king and fountain of law, and confequently could not be tried by laws to which he had never given his affent; that having been intruited with the liberties of the people, he would not now betray them, by recognizing a power founded in usurpation; that he was willing before a proper tribunal to enter into the particulars of his defence; but that before them he must decline any apology for his innocence, left he should be considered as the betrayer of, and not a martyr for the constitution.

Bradshaw, in order to support the authority of the court, infisted, that they had received their power from the people, the source of all right. He pressed the prisoner not to decline the authority of the court, that was delegated by the commons of England, and interrupted, and over-ruled the

king in his attempts to reply.

In this manner the king was three times produced before the court, and as often persisted in declining its jurisdiction. The fourth and last time he was brought before this self-created court, as he was proceeding thither, he was insulted by the soldiers and the mob, who exclaimed, "Justice! justice! execution! execution!" but he continued undaunted. His judges having now examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against the forces

forces commissioned by parliament, they pronounced sentence against him. He seemed very anxious at this time to be admitted to a conference with the two houses; and it was supposed that he intended to resign the crown to his son; but the court resused compliance, and considered his re-

quest as an artifice to delay justice.

The conduct of the king under all these instances of low-bred malice was great, firm, and equal; in going through the hall from this execrable tribunal, the foldiers and rabble were again instigated to cry out justice and execution. They reviled him with the most bitter reproaches, Among other infults, one miscreant presumed to fpit in the face of his fovereign. He patiently bore their insolence. " Poor souls, cried he, " they would treat their generals in the fame man-" ner for fix pence." Those of the populace, who still retained the feelings of humanity, expressed their forrow in fighs and tears. A foldier, more compassionate than the rest, could not help iniploring a bleffing upon his royal head. An officer overhearing him, struck the honest centinel to the ground before the king, who could not help faying, that the punishment exceeded the offence.

At his return to Whitehall, he defired the permission of the house to see his children, and to be attended in his private devotions by doctor Juxon, late bishop of London. These requests were granted, and also three days to prepare for the execution of the sentence. All that remained of his family now in England were the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester, a child of about three years of age. After many seasonable and sensible exhortations to his daughter, he took his little son in his arms, and embracing him, "My child, said he, they will cut off thy sather's head, yes they will cut off my head, and make thee a king. But

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" mark what I fay; thou must not be a king as "long as thy brothers Charles and James are " alive. They will cut off their heads when they " can take them, and thy head too they will cut " off at last, and therefore I charge thee do not " be made a king by them." The child, bursting into tears, replied, " I will be torn in pieces " first."

Every night during the interval between his fentence and execution, the king flept found as usual, though the noise of the workmen, employed in framing the scaffold, continually resounded in his The fatal morning being at last arrived, he rose early; and calling one of his attendants, he bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for so great and joyful a solemnity. The street before Whitehall was the place destined for his execution; for it was intended that this would increase the severity of his punishment. He was led through the Banquetting House to the scaffold adjoining to that edifice, attended by his friend and servant bishop Juxon, a man endowed with the same mild and steady virtues with his master. The scaffold, which was covered with black, was guarded by a regiment of foldiers, under the command of colonel Tomlinfon, and on it were to be feen the block, the ax, and two executioners in masques. The people in great crowds stood at a greater distance, in dreadful expectation of the event. The king surveyed all these solemn preparations with calm composure; and as he could not expect to be heard by the people at a distance, he addressed himself to the few persons who stood round him. He there justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars; and observed, that he had not taken arms till after the parliament had shewn him the example. That he had

had no other object in his warlike preparations than to preserve that authority entire, which had been transmitted to him by his ancestors: but, though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker. He owned that he was justly punished for having consented to the execution of an unjust sentence upon the earl of Strafford. He forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledge his fon as his fucceffor, and fignified his attachment to the protestant religion, as professed in the church of England. So strong was the impression his dying words made upon the few who could hear him, that colonel Tomlinson him. felf, to whose care he had been committed, acknowledged himfelf a convert.

While he was preparing himself for the block. bishop Juxon called out to him: "There is, Sir, " but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troubleiome, is yet a very short one. It will foon carry you a great way. It will carry you " from earth to heaven, and there you shall find, " to your great joy, the prize to which you hasten, " a crown of glory." " I go, replied the king, " from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, " where no difturbance can have place." " You exchange, replied the bishop, a temporal for an " eternal crown, a good exchange." Charles having taken off his cloak delivered his George to the prelate, pronouncing the word " Remember." Then he laid his neck on the block, and stretching out his hands as a fignal, one of the executioners fevered his head from his body at a blow, while the other, holding it up, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor." The spectators testified their horror at that fad spectacle in sighs, tears, and lamentations; the tide of their duty and affection

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Charl vear of l his reign robust, a was plea that the ed migh tenance. duce it v felf from lummary fice to fa from the tues, and offspring the spirit the geniu rules an himself to drew do round his treasons o of Agis t facrificed justice. nation in more wer

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fection began to return, and each blamed himfelf either with active difloyalty to his king, or a passive compliance with his destroyers. The very pulpits, that used to resound with insolence and sedition, were now bedewed with tears of unfeigned repentance; and all united in their detestation of those dark hypocrites, who, to satisfy their own enmity, involved a whole nation in the guilt of treason.

Charles was executed in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of Jan. 30, his reign. He was of a middling stature, 1648.

robust, and well proportioned. His visage was pleasing, but melancholy, and it is probable that the continual troubles in which he was involved might have made that impression on his countenance. As for his character, the reader will deduce it with more precision and satisfaction to himfelf from the detail of his conduct, than from any fummary given of it by the historian. It will fuffice to fay, that all his faults feem to have arisen from the error of his education; while all his virtues, and he possessed many, were the genuine offspring of his heart. He lived at a time when the spirit of the constitution was at variance with the genius of the people; and governing by old rules and precedents, instead of accommodating himself to the changes of the times, he fell, and drew down as he funk the constitution in ruins round him. Many kings before him expired by treasons or assassinations; but never since the times of Agis the Lacedemonian was there any other facrificed by his subjects with all the formalities of Many were the miseries sustained by the nation in bringing this monarch to the block, and more were yet to be endured previous to the fettlement of the constitution; yet these struggles in the Vol. III.

end were productive of domestic happiness and security, the laws became more precise, the monarch's privileges better ascertained, and the subjects duty better delineated; all became more peaceable, as if a previous fermentation in the constitution was necessary for its subsequent refinement.

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C H A P. XXXIII.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

ROMWELL, who had fecretly folicited, and contrived the king's A. D. death, now began to feel wishes to which 1648. he had been hitherto a stranger. His prospects widening as he rose, his first principles of liberty were all lost in the unbounded stretch of power that lay before him. When the peers met on the day appointed in their adjournment, they entered upon business, and sent down some votes to the commons, of which the latter deigned not to take the least notice. In a few days after the commons voted, that the house of lords was useless and dangerous, and therefore was to be abolished. They voted it high treason to acknowledge Charles Stuart, fon of the late king, as fuccessor to the throne. A great feal was made, on one fide of which were engraven the arms of England and Ireland, with this infcription: " The great feal of " England." On the reverse was represented the house of commons sitting, with this motto: "On " the first year of freedom, by God's bleffing ref-" tored, 1648." The forms of all public bufiness were changed from the king's name, to that of the keepers of the liberties of England.

The next day they proceeded to try those gallant men, whose attachment to their late sovereign had been the most remarkable. The duke of Hamilton and lord Capel were condemned and executed, the earl of Holland lost his life by a like sentence, the earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen were condemned, but afterwards pardoned by the

commons.

The Scotch, who had in the beginning shewn themselves so averse to the royal family, and having, by a long train of successes, totally suppressed all infurrections in its favour, now first began to relent from their various persecutions. Their lovalty began to return; and the infolence of the independents with their victories, ferved to inflame them still more. The execution of their favourite duke Hamilton also, who was put to death not only contrary to the laws of war, but of nations, was no small vexation; they, therefore, determined to acknowledge Prince Charles for their king. But their love of liberty was still predominant, and feemed to combat with their manifold refentments. At the fame time that they resolved upon raising him to the throne, they abridged his power with every limitation which they had attempted to im-

pose on their late sovereign. Charles, after the death of his father, having paffed some time at Paris, and finding no likelihood of affistance from that quarter, was glad to accept of any conditions. He possessed neither the virtues nor the constancy of his father; and being attached to no religion as yet, he agreed to all their proposals, being satisfied with even the formalities of royalty. It is remarkable, that while the Scotch were thus inviting their king over, they were, nevertheless, cruelly punishing those who had adhered to his cause. Among others, the earl of Montrose, one of the bravest, politest, and most finished characters of that age, was taken prisoner, as he endeavoured to raise the Highlanders in the royal carife; and being brought to Edinburgh was hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, then quartered, and his limbs stuck up in the principal towns of the kingdom. Yet notwithstanding all this feverity to his followers, Charles ventured into Scotland, and had the mortification to enter

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the gate of Edinburgh, where the limbs of that

faithful adherent were still exposed.

Being now entirely at the mercy of the gloomy and auftere zealots, who had been the cause of his father's misfortunes, he foon found that he had only exchanged exile for imprisonment. He was furrounded, and inceffantly importuned by the fanatical clergy, who obtruded their religious instructions, and obliged him to liften to long fermons, in which they feldom failed to fligmatize the late king as a tyrant, to accuse his mother of idolatry, and himself of an untoward disposition. Six sermons a day were his usual allowance; and though they laboured to out-go each other in abfurdity, yet he was denied the small consolation of laughter. In short, the clergy having brought royalty under their feet, were resolved to keep it still subservient, and to trample upon it with all the contumely of successful upstarts. Charles for a while bore all their infolence with hypocritical tranquillity, and even pretended to be highly edified by their instructions. He once, indeed, attempted to escape from among them; but being brought back, he owned the greatness of his error, he testified repentance for what he had done, and looked about for another opportunity of escaping.

In the mean time, Cromwell, who had been appointed to the command of the army in Ireland, profecuted the war in that kingdom with his usual success. He had to combat against the Royalists, commanded by the duke of Ormond, and the native Irish, led on by O Neill. But such ill connected and barbarous troops could give very little opposition to Cromwell's more numerous forces, conducted by such a general, and emboldened by long success. He soon over ran the whole country; and after some time, all the towns revolted in his favour, and opened their gates at his approach.

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But in these conquests, as in all the rest of his actions, there appeared a brutal serocity, that could tarnish the most heroic valour. In order to intimidate the natives from desending their towns, he, with a barbarous policy, put every garrison that made any resistance to the sword. He entered the city of Drogheda by storm, and indiscriminately butchered men, women, and children, so that only one escaped the dreadful carnage to give an account of the massacre. He was now in the train of speedily reducing the whole kingdom to subjection, when he was called over by the parliament to defend his own country against the Scotch, who having espoused the royal cause, had raised a considerable army to support it.

After Cromwell's return to England, upon taking his feat, he received the thanks of the house, by the mouth of the speaker, for the services he had done the commonwealth in Ireland. They then proceeded to deliberate upon choosing a general for conducting the war in Scotland, which Fairfax refuting upon principle, as he had all along declined opposing the presbyterians, the command necessarily devolved upon Cromwell. from that time forward declined meddling in public affairs; but fending his commission of generalissimo to the house, he retired to spend the remainder of his life in peace and privacy. Cromwell, eager to purfue the path of ambition that now lay before him, and being declared captain-general of the forces, boldly fet forward for Scotland at the head of an army of fixteen thousand men.

The Scotch, in the mean time, who had invited over their wretched king to be a prisoner, not a ruler, among them, prepared to meet the invasion. They had given the command of their army to general Lesly, a good officer, who formed a proper plan for their defence. This prudent com-

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mander knew, that though superior in numbers. his army was much inferior in discipline and experience to the English; and he kept himself carefully within his intrenchments. After fome previous motions on one fide and the other, Cromwell, at last, saw himself in a very disadvantageous post near Dunbar, and his antagonist waiting deliberately to take advantage of his fituation.

But the madness of the Scotch clergy A. D. faved him from the imminent difgrace 1650.

that was likely to attend him, and to their vain inspirations he owed his security. These had it feems been night and day wrestling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it; and they at last fancied that they had obtained the superiority. Revelations they faid were made them, that the heretical army, together with Agag their general, would be delivered into their hands. Upon the affurances of these visions, they obliged their general, in spite of all his remonstrances, to descend into the plain, and give the English battle.

The English had their visions and their affurances on their fide also. Cromwell, in his turn. had been wreftling with the Lord, and had come off with success. When he was told that the Scotch army were coming down to engage, he affured his foldiers that the Lord had delivered the enemy into his hands; and he ordered his army to fing pfalms, as already possessed of a certain victo-The Scotch, though double the number of the English, were soon put to flight, and pursued with great flaughter, while Cromwell did not lofe

above forty men in all.

The unfortunate king, who hated all the Scotch army, and only dreaded Cromwell, was well enough pleased at the defeat, which belied all the affurances of his oppreffors. It was attended also with this good confequence to him, that it ferved

to introduce him to a greater share of power than he had hitherto been permitted to enjoy. He now therefore put himself at the head of the small part of the Scotch army that had survived the defeat; and these he still further strengthened by the royalists, whom the covenanters had some time before excluded from his service. Cromwell, however, still followed his blow, pursued the king's forces towards Perth, and cutting off the provisions of the Scotch army, made it impossible for Charles to maintain his forces in that country any longer.

In this terrible exigence he embraced a resolution worthy a prince, who was willing to hazard all for empire. Observing that the way was open to England, he resolved immediately to march into that country, where he expected to be reinforced by all the royalists in that part of the kingdom. His generals were persuaded to enter into the same views; and with one consent the Scotch army, to the number of sourteen thousand men, made an

irruption fouthwards.

But Charles soon found himself disappointed in the expectation of increasing his army. The Scotch, terrified at the prospect of so hazardous an enterprize, sell from him in great numbers. The English affrighted at the name of his opponent, dreaded to join him; but his mortifications were more increased as he arrived at Worcester, when informed, that Cromwell was marching with hasty strides from Scotland, with an army increased to forty thousand men. The news scarce arrived, when that active general himself appeared; and falling upon the town on all sides, broke in upon the disordered royalists. The streets were strewed with slaughter, the whole Scotch army was either killed or taken prisoners, and the king himself, having

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given many proofs of personal valour, was obliged

to fly.

Imagination can scarce conceive adventures more romantic, or distresses more severe, than those which attended the young king's escape from the scene of slaughter. After his hair was cut off, the better to disguise his person, he wrought for some days in the habit of a peafant, cutting faggots in a wood. He next made an attempt to retire into Wales, under the conduct of one Pendrel, a poor farmer, who was fincerely attached to his cause. In this attempt, however, he was disappointed, every pass being guarded to prevent his escape. Being obliged to return, he met one colonel Careless, who, like himself, had escaped the carnage at Worcester; and it was in his company that he was obliged to climb a spreading oak, among the thick branches of which they passed the day together, while they heard the foldiers of the enemy in purfuit of them below. From thence he passed, with imminent danger, feeling all the varieties of famine, fatigue and pain, till he arrived at the house of one colonel Lane, a zealous royalist in Stafford-There he deliberated about the means of escaping into France; and Bristol being supposed the properest port, it was agreed that he should ride thither, before this gentleman's fifter, on a vifit to one Mrs. Norton, who lived in the neighbourhood of that city. During this journey he every day met with persons, whose faces he knew; and at one time passed through a whole regiment of the enemy's army.

When they arrived at Mrs. Norton's, the first person they saw was one of his own chaplains sitting at the door, amusing himself with seeing people play at bowls. The king, after having taken proper care of his horse in the stable, was shewn

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to an apartment, which Mrs. Lane had provided for him, as it was faid he had the ague. The butler, however, being fent to him with some refreshment, no sooner beheld his face, which was very pale with anxiety and fatigue, then he recollected his king and master; and falling upon his knees, while the tears streamed down his cheeks, cried out, "I am rejoiced to see your majesty." The king was alarmed, but made the butler promise that he would keep the secret from every mortal, even from his master; and the honest servant punctually obeyed him.

No ship being found that would for a month set sail from Bristol, either for France or Spain, the king was obliged to go elsewhere for a passage. He therefore repaired to the house of colonel Wyndham, in Dorsetshire, where he was cordially received; that gentleman's samily having ever been loyal. His mother, a venerable matron, seemed to think the end of her life nobly rewarded, in having it in her power to give protection to her king. She expressed no distatisfaction at having lost three sons, and one grand-child in the desence of his cause, since she was honoured in being instrumen-

tal to his own preservation.

Pursuing from thence his journey to the sea-side, he once more had a very providential escape from a little inn, where he set up for the night. The day had been appointed by parliament for a solemn sast; and a fanatical weaver, who had been a soldier in the parliament army, was preaching against the king in a little chapel fronting the house. Charles, to avoid suspicion, was himself among the audience. It happened, that a smith of the same principles with the weaver, had been examining the horses belonging to the passengers, and came to assure the speacher that he knew by the sashion of the shoes, that one of the strangers horses

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horses came from the north. The preacher immediately affirmed that this horse could belong to no other than Charles Stuart, and instantly went with a constable to search the inn. But Charles had taken timely precautions, and had lest the innbefore the constable's arrival.

At Shoreham, in Suffex, a veffel was at last found, in which he embarked. He was known to so many, that if he had not set sail in that critical moment, it had been impossible for him to escape. After one and forty days concealment, he arrived safely at Feschamp in Normandy. No less than forty men and women had, at different

times, been privy to his escape.

In the mean time, Cromwell, crowned with faccess, returned in triumph to London, where he was met by the speaker of the house, accompanied by the mayor of London, and the magistrates, in all their formalities. His first care was to take advantage of his late fuccesses, by depressing the Scotch, who had fo lately withstood the work of the Gospel, as he called it. An act was passed for abolishing royalty in Scotland, and annexing that kingdom, as a conquered province, to the English commonwealth. It was impowered, however, to fend fome members to the English parhament. Judges were appointed to distribute justice; and the people of that country, now freed from the tyranny of the ecclefiaftics, were not much diffatisfied with their present government. The prudent conduct of Monk, who was left by Cromwell to complete their subjection, served much to reconcile the minds of the people, haraffed with diffensions, of which they never well understood the cause.

In this manner the English parliament, by the means of Cromwell, spread their uncontested authority over all the British dominions. Ireland was totally.

totally fubdued by Ireton and Ludlow. All the fettlements in America, that had declared for the royal cause, were obliged to submit; Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, were brought easily under subjection. Thus mankind faw, with aftonishment, a parliament composed of fixty or seventy obscure and illiterate members, governing a great empire with unanim ty and fuccels. Without any acknowledged fubordination, except a council of state confisting of thirty-eight, to whom all addresses were made, they levied armics, maintained fleets, and gave laws to the neighbouring powers of Europe. The finances were managed with æconomy and exactness. Few private perfons became rich by the plunder of the public: the revenues of the crown, the lands of the bishops, and a tax of an hundred and twenty thousand pounds each month, supplied the wants of the government, and gave vigour to all their proceedings.

The parliament, having thus reduced their native dominions to perfect obedience, next refolved to chastife the Dutch, who had given but very flight causes of complaint. It happened that one Doctor Dorislaus, who was of the number of the late king's judges, being fent by the parliament as their envoy to Holland, was affaffinated by one of the royal party, who had taken refuge there. Some time after also Mr. St. John, appointed their ambaffador to that court, was infulted by the friends of the prince of Orange. These were thought motives sufficient to induce the commonwealth of England to declare war against them. The parliament's chief dependence lay in the activity and courage of Blake, their admiral; who, though he had not embarked in naval command till late in life, yet surpassed all that went before him in courage and dexterity. On the other fide, the Dutch opposed to him their famous admiral Van Tromp,

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to whom they never fince produced an equal. Many were the engagements between these celebrated admirals, and various was their fuccess.

Sea-fights, in general, feldom prove decifive; and the vanquished are soon seen to make head against the victors. Several dreadful encounters, therefore, rather ferved to shew the excellence of the admirals, than to determine their superiority. The Dutch, however, who felt many great disadvantages by the lofs of their trade, and by the total suspension of their fisheries, were willing to treat for a peace; but the parliament gave them a very unfavourable answer. It was the policy of that body, to keep their navy on foot as long as they could; rightly judging, that while the force of the nation was exerted by fea, it would diminish the power of general Cromwell by land, which was

now become very formidable to them.

This great aspirer, however, quickly perceived their defigns; and from the first saw that they dreaded his growing power, and wished its diminution. All his measures were conducted with a bold intrepidity that marked his character; and he now faw, that it was not necessary to wear the mask of subordination any longer. Secure, therefore, in the attachment of the army, he resolved to make another daring effort; and persuaded the officers to present a petition for payment of arrears and redress of grievances, which he knew would be rejected with disdain. The petition was soon drawn up and presented, in which the officers, after demanding their arrears, defired the parhament to confider how many years they had fat; and what professions they had A. D. formerly made of their intentions to new 1653. model the house, and establish freedom on the broadest basis. They alledged, that it was

now full time to give place to others; and how-

ever meritorious their actions might have been yet the rest of the nation had some right, in turn, to shew their patriotism in the service of their

country.

The house was highly offended at the prefumption of the army, although they had feen. but too lately, that their own power was wholly. founded on that very presumption. They appointed a committee to prepare an act, ordaining that all persons who presented such petitions, for the future, should be deemed guilty of high treason. To this the officers made a very warm remonstrance, and the parliament as angry a reply; while the breach between them every moment grew wider. This was what Cromwell had long wished, and had well foreseen. He was sitting in council with his officers, when informed of the subject on which the house was deliberating; upon which he he rose up in the most seeming fury, and turning to major Vernon, cried out, "That he was com-" pelled to do a thing that made the very hair of " his head stand on end." Then hastening to the house with three hundred foldiers, and with the marks of violent indignation on his countenance he entered, took his place, and attended to the debates for some time. When the question was ready to be put, he suddenly started up, and began to load the parliament with the vilett reproaches for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public. Upon which, stamping with his foot, which was the fignal for the foldiers to enter, the place was immediately filled with armed men. Then addressing himself to the members: " For shame, said he, get you gone. Give place to honester men; to those who will more faith-"fully discharge their trust. You are no longer a e parliament; I tell you you are no longer a es parliament; the Lord has done with you." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming against this conduct:

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"Sir Harry, cried Cromwell with a loud voice,
"O Sir Harry Vane, the Lord deliver me from
"Sir Harry Vane." Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, thou art a whore-master; to another, thou art an adulterer; to a third, thou art a drunkard; and to a fourth, thou art a glutton. "It is
you, continued he to the members, that have
forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord
night and day that he would rather slay me than
put me upon this work." Then pointing to the
mace, "Take away, cried he, that bauble."
After which, turning out all the members, and
clearing the hall, he ordered the doors to be locked,
and putting the key in his pocket, returned to
Whitehall.

Thus, by one daring exploit, the new republic was abolished, and the whole command, civil and military, centered in Cromwell only. The people, however, that were spectators in silent wonder of all these precipitate transactions, expressed no disapprobation at the dissolution of a parliament that had overturned the constitution, and destroyed the king. On the contrary, the usurper received congratulatory addresses from the sleet, the corporations, and the army, for having dismissed a parliament that had subjected them to the most cruel impositions.

But this politic man was too cautious to be seduced by their praise, or driven on by their exhoratations. Unwilling to put forth all his power at once, he resolved still to amuse the people with the form of a commonwealth, which it was the delusion of the times to admire, and to give them a parliament that would be entirely subservient to his commands. For this purpose, consulting with some of the principal officers, it was decreed, that the sovereign power should be vested in one hundred and forty-four persons, under the denomina-

tion

tion of a parliament; and he undertook himself to

make the choice.

The persons pitched upon for exercising this feemingly important trust, were the lowest, meanest. and the most ignorant among the citizens, and the very dregs of the fanatics. He was well apprized that during the administration of such a groupe of characters he alone must govern, or that they must foon throw up the reins of government, which they were unqualified to guide. Accordingly, their practice justified his fagacity. To go further than others into the absurdities of fanaticism was the chief qualification which each of these valued himself upon. Their very names, composed of cant phrases borrowed from Scripture, and rendered ridiculous by their misapplication, served to shew their excessive folly. Not only the names of Zerobabel, Habbakuk, and Mesopotamia were given to those ignorant creatures, but sometimes whole sentences from Scripture. One of them particularly, who was called Praise God Barebone, a canting leatherfeller, gave his name to this odd affembly, and it was called Barebone's parliament.

Their attempts at legislation were entirely correspondent to their stations and characters. As they were chiefly composed of antinomians, a sect that, after receiving the spirit, supposed themselves incapable of error, and of fifth monarchy men, who every hour expected Christ's coming on earth, they began by choosing eight of their tribe to seek the Lord in prayer, while the rest calmly sat down to deliberate upon the suppression of the clergy, the universities, the courts of justice; and instead of all this it was their intent to substitute the law

of Moses.

To this hopeful affembly was committed the treaty of peace with the Dutch; but the ambassadors from that nation, though themselves presbyte-

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rians, were quite carnal minded to these. They were regarded by the new parliament as worldly men, intent on commerce and industry, and therefore not to be treated with. They insisted that the man of sin should be put away, and a new birth obtained by prayer and meditation. The ambassadors finding themselves unable to converse with them in their own way, gave up the treaty

as hopeless.

The very vulgar began now to exclaim against fo foolish a legislature; and they themselves seemed not infensible of the ridicule which every day was thrown out against them. Cromwell was probably well enough pleafed to find that his power was likely to receive no diminution from their endeayours; but began to be ashamed of their complicated absurdities. He had carefully chosen many persons among them entirely devoted to his interests, and these he commanded to dismiss the affembly. Accordingly, by concert, they met earlier than the rest of their fraternity; and observing to each other that this parliament had fat long enough, they haftened to Cromwell, with Rouse their speaker at their head, and into his hands they refigned the authority with which he had invested them...

Cromwell accepted their refignation with pleasure; but being told that some of the number were refractory, he sent colonel White to clear the house of such as ventured to remain there. They had placed one Moyer in the chair by the time that the colonel had arrived; and he being asked by the colonel "What they did there?" Moyer replied very gravely, that they were seeking the Lord. "Then you may go elsewhere, cried White; for to my certain knowledge the Lord has not been

" here these many years."

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This shadow of a parliament being dissolved, the officers, by their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the commonwealth of England. Nothing now could withstand his authority; the mayor and aldermen were sent for to give solemnity to his appointment; and he was instituted into his new office at Whitehall, in the palace of the kings of England. He was to be addressed by the title of highness; and his power was proclaimed in London, and other parts of the kingdom. Thus an obscure and vulgar man, at the age of sifty-three, rose to unbounded power, first by sollowing small events in his favour, and at length by direct-

ing great ones.

It was, indeed, in a great measure necessary that fome person should take the supreme command; for affairs were brought into fuch a fituation by the furious animofities of the contending parties, that nothing but absolute power could prevent a renewal of former bloodshed and confusion. Cromwell, therefore, might have faid with some justice upon his installation, that he accepted the dignity of protector merely that he might preserve the peace of the nation; and this it must be owned he effected with equal conduct, moderation, and fuccess. The government of the kingdom was adjusted in the following manner. A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twentyone, nor to be under thirteen persons. These were to enjoy their offices for life, or during good behaviour; and, in case of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector chose one. The protector was appointed the supreme magistrate of the commonwealth, with fuch powers as the king was possessed of. The power of the fword was vested in him jointly with the parliament when fitting, or with the council at intervals.

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fchemes responde were attable to he abridged obliged them up fifted up flag. For the pounds and to repart of the

intervals. He was obliged to summon a parliament every three years, and to allow them to sit five months without adjournment. A standing army was established of twenty thousand soot, and ten thousand horse, and funds were assigned for their support. The protector enjoyed his office during life; and on his death the place was immediately to be supplied by the council. Of all those clauses the standing army was alone sufficient for Cromwell's purpose; for while possessed of that instrument, he could mould the rest of the constitution to his pleasure at any time.

Cromwell chose his council among his officers, who had been the companions of his dangers and his victories, to each of whom he assigned a pension of one thousand pounds a year. He took care to have his troops, upon whose sidelity he depended for support, paid a month in advance; the magazines were also well provided, and the public treasure managed with frugality and care: while his activity, vigilance, and resolution were such that he discovered every conspiracy against his person, and every plot for an insurrection before they

took effect.

His management of foreign affairs, though his schemes were by no means political, yet well corresponded with his character, and, for a while, were attended with success. The Dutch having been humbled by repeated defeats, and totally abridged in their commercial concerns, were obliged at last to sue for peace, which he gave them upon terms rather too favourable. He infifted upon their paying deference to the British flag. He compelled them to abandon the interests of the king, and to pay eighty-five thousand pounds as an indemnification for former expences, and to restore the English East India company a part of those dominions of which they had been difpossessed

dispossessed by the Dutch during the former reign,

in that distant part of the world.

He was not less successful in his negotiations with the court of France. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom the affairs of that kingdom were conducted, deemed it necessary to pay deference to the protector; and desirous rather to prevail by dexterity than violence, submitted to Cromwell's imperious character, and thus procured ends equal-

ly beneficial to both.

The court of Spain was not less assiduous in its endeavours to gain his friendship, but was not so successful. This vast monarchy, which but a few years before had threatened the liberties of Europe, was now reduced so low as to be scarce able to defend itself. Cromwell, however, who knew nothing of foreign politics, still continued to regard its power with an eye of jealousy, and came into an association with France to depress it still more. He lent that court a body of six thousand men to attack the Spanish dominions in the Netherlands; and upon obtaining a signal victory by his assistance at Dunes, the French put Dunkirk, which they had just taken from the Spaniards, into his hands, as a reward for his attachment.

But it was by sea that be humbled the power of Spain with still more effectual success. Blake, who had long made himself formidable to the Dutch, and whose same was spread over Europe, now became still more dreadful to the Spanish monarchy. He sailed with a sleet into the Mediterranean, whither, since the time of the crusades, no English sleet had ever ventured to advance. He there conquered all that ventured to oppose him. Casting anchor before Leghorn, he demanded and obtained satisfaction for some injuries which the English commerce had suffered from the duke of Tuscany. He next sailed to Algiers, and compelled

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pelled the Dey to make peace, and to restrain his pyratical subjects from farther injuring the English. He then went 1655.

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to Tunis, and having made the same demands, he was defired by the Dey of that place to look at the two castles, Porto Farino, and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake shewed him that he was not flow in accepting the challenge; he entered the harbour, burned the shipping there, and then failed out triumphantly to purfue his At Cadiz, he took two galleons valued at near two million pieces of eight. At the Canaries, be burned a Spanish fleet of fixteen ships, and returning home to England to enjoy the fame of his noble actions, as he came within fight of his na-This gallant man, tive country he expired. though he fought for an usurper, yet was averse to his cause; he was a zealous republican in principle, and his aim was to serve his country, not to establish a tyrant. "It is still our duty, he would fay to the fea-men, to fight for our country into whatever hands the government may fall."

At the same time, that Blake's expeditions were going forward, there was another carried on under the command of admiral Pen and Venables, with about four thousand land-forces, to attack the Island of Hispaniola. Failing, however, in this, and being driven off the place by the Spaniards, they steered to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without a blow. So little was thought of the importance of this conquest, that, upon the return of the expedition, Pen and Venables were sent to the Tower, for their failure in the princi-

All these successes might rather be ascribed to the spirit of the times, than the conductor of them. Cromwell was possessed of but two arts in perfection, that of managing the army, by which he ruled; and obtaining the secrets of his enemies

that

that were plotting against him. For the first, his valour and canting zeal were fufficient; for the latter, it is faid he paid fixty thousand pounds a year to his spies to come by his intelligence. But he took care to make the nation refund those extraordinary fums which he expended for fuch information. One or two conspiracies entered into by the royalists, which were detected and punished, ferved him as a pretext to lay an heavy tax upon all of that party, of a tenth penny on all their possessions. In order to raise this oppressive imposition, ten major generals were instituted, who divided the whole kingdom into fo many military jurisdictions. These men had power to subject whom they pleased to a payment of this tax, and to imprison such as denied their jurisdiction. Under colour of these powers, they exercised the most arbitrary authority; the people had no protection against their exactions; the very mask of liberty was thrown off, and all property was at the disposal of a military tribunal. It was in vain that the nation cried out for a free parliament; Cromwell affembled one in confequence of their clamours; but as speedily dissolved it, when he found it refractory to his commands.

In this state of universal dejection, in which Scotland and Ireland were treated as conquered provinces, in which the protector issued his absolute orders without even the mask of his former hypocrify, and in which all trust and confidence were lost in every social meeting, the people were struck with a new instance of the usurper's ambition. As parliaments were ever dear to the people, it was resolved to give them one; but such as should be entirely of the protector's choosing, and chiefly composed of his own creatures. Lest any of a different complexion should presume to enter the house, guards were placed at the door,

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and none admitted but such as produced a warrant from his council. The principal design of convening this assembly was, that they should offer him the crown, with the title of king, and all the

other enfigns of royalty.

His creatures, therefore, took care to infuse into this assembly the merits of the protector; the confusion there was in legal proceedings without the name of a king; that no man was acquainted with the extent or limits of the present magistrate's authority, but those of a king had been well ascertained by the experience of ages. At last the motion was made in form in the house, by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for investing the protector with the regal dignity. The majority of the house being Cromwell's creatures, it may easily be supposed that the bill was voted according to his secret wishes; and nothing now remained but his own consent to have his name

enrolled among the kings of England.

Whether it was his original intention by having this bill carried through the house, to shew that he was magnanimous enough to retule the offer, or whether finding some of those on whom he most depended averse to his taking the title, cannot now be known. Certain it is his doubts continued for some days; and the conference which he carried on with the members who were fent to make him the offer, seems to argue that he was desirous of being compelled to accept what he feared openly to assume. The obscurity of his answers, the abfurdity of his speeches on this occasion (for they still remain) shew plainly a mind at variance with itself, and combatting only with a wish to be vanquished. "I confess, said he, for it behoves me " to deal plainly with you, I must confess, I " would fay I hope I may be understood in this; " for indeed I must be tender what I would say

co to fuch an audience as this; I fay I would be " understood, that in this argument I do not comake a parallel between men of a different " mind, and a parliament which shall have their defires. I know there is no comparison; nor can it be urged upon me that my words have the least colour that way, because the parlia-" ment feems to me to give liberty to me to fay " any thing to you. As that is a tender of my "humble reasons and judgment and opinion to them, and if I think they are such, and will be " fuch to them, and are faithful fervants, and " will be fo to the supreme authority and the " legislative, wheresoever it is. If I say I should " not tell you knowing their minds to be fo, I " should not be faithful if I should not tell you " fo, to the end that you may report it to par-" liament." In this manner did this most unaccountable of all characters answer their petitions for his affuming the kingly name and dignity; however the conference ended in his refusing their offer.

But it must not be supposed that his situation, with all these offered honours, was at this time enviable? Perhaps no station, however mean, or loaded with contempt, could be more truly distressful than his, at a time the nation was load-

ing him with congratulations and ad-

A. D. dreffes. He had by this, rendered him-1658. felf hateful to every party; and he owed his fefety to their mutual hatred and dif-

his fafety to their mutual hatred and diffidence of each other. His arts of diffimulation had been long exhausted; none now could be deceived by them, those of his own party and principles, disdaining the use to which he had converted his zeal and professions. The truth seems to be, if we may use a phrase taken from common life. life, his o sharpe

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The whole nation filently detested his adminifiration, but he had not still been reduced to the extreme of wretchedness, if he could have found domestic consolation. Fleetwood, his son in-law, aduated with the wildest zeal, detested that character which could use religious professions for the purpofes of temporal advancement. His eldeft daughter, married to Fleetwood, had adopted republican principles fo vehemently, that the could not behold even her own father entrusted with uncontrolable power. His other daughters were no less sanguine in favour of the royal cause; but above all, Mrs. Claypole, his favourite daughter. who, upon her death-bed, upbraided him with all those crimes that led him to trample on the throne.

Every hour added some new disquietude. Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and many of the heads of the presbyterians, had secretly entered into an engagement to destroy him. His administration, so expensive both at home and abroad, had exhausted his revenue, and he was left confiderably in debt. One conspiracy was no sooner detected, but another rose from its ruins; and to increase his calamity, he was now taught, upon reasoning principles, that his death was not only desirable, but his assassination would be meritorious. A book was published by colonel Titus, a man who had formerly been attached to his cause, entitled Killing no Murder. Of all the pamphlets that came forth at that time, or perhaps of those that have fince appeared, this was the most eloquent and masterly. Shall we, said this popular declaimer, who would not fuffer the lion to invade us, tamely stand to be devoured by the wolf. VOL. III. Cromwell

Cromwell read this spirited treatise, and was never feen to smile more.

All peace was now for ever banished from his mind. He now found, that the grandeur to which he had facrificed his former peace, was only an inlet to fresh inquietudes. The fears of affassination haunted him in all his walks, and was perpetually present to his imagination. He wore armour under his cloaths, and always kept piffols in his pockets. His aspect was clouded by a settled gloom; and he regarded every stranger with a glance of timid fuspicion. He always travelled with hurry, and was ever attended by a numerous guard. He never returned from any place by the road he went; and feldom flept above three nights together in the same chamber. Society terrified him, as there he might meet an enemy; folitude was terrible, as he was there unguarded by every friend.

A tertian ague kindly came at last to deliver him from this life of horror and anxiety. For the space of a week no dangerous symptoms appeared; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length the fever increased, and he himself began to dread his approaching fate; but he was taught to confider his present disorder as no way fatal, by his fanatic chaplains, on whom he entirely relied. When his chaplain Goodwin told him that the elect would never be damned, then " I am fure, faid he, that I am fafe; for I " was once in a state of grace." His physicians were fensible of his dangerous case; but he was fo much encouraged by the revelations of his preachers, that he confidered his recovery as no way doubtful." "I tell you, cried he to the phy-" ficians, that I shall not die of this distemper; "I am well affured of my recovery. Favourable

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" those of the godly, who have a closer correspon-" dence with God than I. Ye may have skill in "your profession; but nature can do more than " all the physicians in the world; and God is far " above nature." Upon a fast day appointed on account of his fickness, his ministers thanked God for the undoubted pledges they had received of his recovery. Notwithstanding these affurances the fatal fymptoms every hour increased; and the physicians were obliged to declare that he could not furvive the next fit. The council now therefore came to know his last commands concerning the fuccession; but his senses were gone, and he was just able to answer yes to their demand, whether his fon Richard should be appointed to fucceed him. He died on the third day of September, that very day which he had always confidered as the most fortunate of his life; he was then fifty-nine years old, A. D. and had usurped the government nine 1658. years.

CHAP. XXXIV.

From the Death of OLIVER CROMWELL to the RESTORATION.

HATEVER might have been the differences of interest after the death of the usurper, the influence of his name was still sufficient to get Richard his son proclaimed protector in his room. It was probably owing to the numerous parties that were formed in the kingdom, and their hatred of each other, that Richard owed his peaceable advancement to this high station. He was naturally no way ambitious, being rather mild, easy, and good-natured; and honour seemed rather to pursue, than to attract him. He had nothing active in his disposition; no talents for business, no knowledge of government, no influence among

the foldiery, no importance in council.

It was found necessary, upon his first advancement, to call a parliament, to furnish the supplies to carry on the ordinary operations of govern-The house of commons was formed legally enough; but the house of Lords consisted only of those persons of no real title, who were advanced to that dignified station by the late protector. But it was not on the parliament that the army chose to rely. A great number of the principal malecontents of the army, established a meeting at general Fleetwood's, which, as he dwelt in Wallingford-house, was called the Cabal of Wallingford. The refult of their deliberations was a remonstrance that the command of the army should be intrusted to some person in whom they might all confide; and it was plainly given to understand that the young protector was not that person.

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A proposal so daring and dangerous did not fail to alarm Richard; he applied to his council, and they referred it to the parliament. Both agreed to confider it as an audacious attempt, and a vote was passed that there should be no meeting, or general council of officers, without the protector's This brought affairs immediately to permission. a rupture. The palace of the protector was the next day furrounded by a body of officers; and one Defborow, a man of a clownish brutal nature, penetrating into his apartment with an armed retinue, threatened him if he should refuse. wanted resolution to defend what had been conferred upon him; he diffolved the parliament then, and foon after he figned his own abdication in form.

Henry Cromwell, his younger brother, who was appointed to the command in Ireland, followed the protector's example, and refigned his commission without striking a blow. Richard lived several years after his resignation, at first on the continent, and afterwards upon his paternal fortune at home. He was thought by the ignorant to be unworthy of the happiness of his exaltation; but he knew by his tranquillity in private, that he

had made the most fortunate escape.

The officers being once more left to themselves, determined to replace the remnant of the old parliament which had beheaded the king, and which Cromwell had so disgracefully turned out of the house. This was called the good old cause, from their attachment to republican principles; and to the members of this, the cabal of officers for a while delivered up their own authority. The members who had been secluded by colonel Pride's purge, as it was called, attempted, but in vain, to resume their seats among them.

The Rump parliament, for that was the name it went by, although reinstated by the army, was

yet very rigorous in its attempts to lessen the power by which it was replaced. The members began their design of humbling the army by new modelling part of the forces, by cashiering such of the officers as they seared, and appointing others, on whom they could rely, in their room. These attempts, however, were not unobserved by the officers; and their discontent would have broke out into some resolution, satal to the parliament, had it not been checked by apprehensions of danger from the royalists, or presbyterians, who were

confidered as the common enemy.

In this exigence, the officers held feveral conferences together, with a defign to continue their power. They at length came to a refolution, usual enough in these times, to dissolve that assembly, by which they were so vehemently opposed. Accordingly Lambert, one of the general officers, drew up a chosen body of troops; and placing them in the streets which led to Westminster-hall, when the speaker Lenthall proceeded in his carriage to the house, he ordered the horses to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were likewise intercepted, and the army returned to their quarters to observe a solemn fast, which generally either preceded, or attended their outrages.

The officers having this resumed the power they had given, resolved not to part with it for the future upon easy terms. They elected a committee of twenty-three persons, of whom sever were officers; these they called a committee of safety, and pretended to invest them with sovereign authority. Fleetwood, a weak zealot, was made commander in chief; Lambert, an artful ambitious man, major-general; Desborow, lieutenant-general; and Monk, who had been invested by Cromwell with the government of Scotland, was appointed major-general of the soot. A military government

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vernment was now established, which gave the nation the melancholy prospect of endless servitude, and tyranny without redress: a succour came to relieve the nation from a quarter on which it was

the least expected.

During these transactions, general Monk was at the head of eight thousand veterans in Scotland, and beheld the distraction of his native country with but slender hopes of relieving it. This perfonage, to whom the nation owes fuch fignal obligations, was at first a soldier of fortune. After fome time spent abroad, he was intrusted with a regiment in the service of king Charles, and was usually called by the soldiery, for his good nature, honest George Monk. He was, however, taken prisoner at the fiege of Nantwich, by Fairfax, and foon after fent to the Tower. He did not recover his liberty till after the total overthrow of the royal party, when Cromwell took him into favour and protection, and fent him to oppose the Irish rebels, against whom he performed signal services. Upon the reduction of that kingdom he was fent over into Scotland, and there intrusted with the supreme command, in which station he was not less esteemed by the Scotch, than loved and adored by his own army.

This general, upon hearing that the officers had, by their own authority, dissolved the parliament, protested against the measure, and resolved to defend their invaded privileges. But deeper designs, either in the king's favour or his own, were suspected to be the motive of his actions from the beginning. Whatever might have been his designs, it was impossible to cover them with greater secrecy than he did. As soon as he put his army into motion, to inquire into the causes of the disturbances in the capital, his countenance was eagerly sought by all the contending parties. His own brother, a clergyman, who was a zealous

royalist,

royalist, came to him with a message from lord Granville, in the name of the king. The general asked him if he had ever communicated the contents of his commission to any other person. His brother replied, to none except to Mr. Price, the general's own chaplain, a man of probity, and in the royal The general altering his countenance, at once changed the discourse, and would enter into no further conference with him. The same deep reserve was held thro' all his subsequent proceedings.

Hearing that the officers were preparing an army to oppose him; and that general Lambert was actually advancing northward to meet him, Monk fent three commissioners to London, with very earnest professions of an accomodation, by which means he relaxed their preparations. His commissioners even proceeded to far as to sign a treaty, which he refused to ratify. Still, however, he made proposals for fresh negotiations; and the committee of officers again accepted his fallacious

offers.

In the mean time, the people perceiving that they were not entirely defenceless, began to gather spirit, and to exclaim loudly against the tyranny of the army. Hazlerig, and Morely, while Lambert was absent, took possession of Portsmouth, and declared for the parliament. The city apprentices role in a tumult, and demanded a free parliament. Admiral Lawson came into the river with his fquadron, and declared for the parliament; and even the regiments that had been left in London, being folicited by their old officers, who had been cathiered, revolted again to the parliament. The Rump, thus being invited on all hands, again ventured to refume their feats, and to thunder their votes in turn against the officers, and that part of the army by which they had been ejected. Without taking any notice of Lambert,

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they sent orders to the troops he conducted, immediately to repair to the garrisons they appointed for them. The soldiers were not slow in obeying the parliamentary orders; and Lambert at last found himself deserted by his whole army. He was soon after committed to the Tower; several of his brother-officers cashiered, and the parliament seemed now to stand on a sirmer basis than before.

But they were far from being so secure as they imagined. Monk, though he had heard of their restitution, and therefore might be supposed to have nothing more to do, still continued to march his army towards the capital; all the world equally in doubt as to his motives, and astonished at his reserve. The gentry, on his march, slocked round him with entreaties and addresses, expressing their desire of a new parliament. Fairfax brought him a body of troops, with which he offered to assist in the work of restoration; but Monk continued his inflexible taciturnity, and at last came to St. Alban's, within a few miles of London.

He there sent the parliament a message, defiring them to remove fuch forces as remained in London to country quarters. With this, some of the regiments refused to comply, but Monk was resolved to be obeyed; he entered London the next day, turned the foldiers out, and, with his army, took up his quarters in Westminster. He then waited upon the house, which was ready enough to vote him their fincere thanks for the fervices he had done his country. But he, in a blunt manner, affured them, that his only merit was a defire to restore peace to the community; and, therefore, he entreated them that they would permit a free parliament to be called, as the only balm that could heal the wounds of the conflitu-He observed also, that many oaths of admission L 5

mission upon this occasion were unnecessary; and the fewer the obligations of this kind, the clearer would their consciences be.

The hope of being infolent with fecurity, foon inspired the citizens to refuse submission to the prefent government. They resolved to pay no taxes. until the members, formerly excluded by colonel Pride, should be replaced. But the parliament found their general willing to give them the most ready instances of his obediences; he entered the city with his troops, arrested eleven of the most obnoxious of the common-council, and began to destroy the gates. Then he wrote a letter to the parliament, telling them what he had done; and begging they would moderate the severity of their orders. But being urged by the house to proceed, he, with all possible circumstances of contempt, broke the gates and port-cullifes; and having exposed the city to the fcorn and derision of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters in Westminster. But the next day he began to think he had proceeded too vigorously in this act of obedience; he therefore marched into the city again, and defired the mayor to call a common-council, where he made many apologies for his conduct the day before. He affured them of his perseverance in the cause of freedom; and that his army would, for the future, co-operate only in such schemes as they should approve.

This union of the city and the army caused no small alarm in the house of commons. They knew that a free and general parliament was desered by the whole nation; and in such a case, they were convinced that their own power must have an end. But their sears of punishment were still greater than their uneasiness at dismission; they had been instrumental in bringing their king to the block, in loading the nation with various taxes,

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and some of them had grown rich by the common plunder; they resolved, therefore, to try every method to gain off the general from his new alliance; even some of them, desperate with guilt and fanatacism, promised to invest him with the dignity of supreme magistrate, and to support his usurpation. But Monk was too just, or too wise to hearken to such wild proposals; he resolved to restore the secluded members, and by their means to bring about a new election, which was what he desired.

There was no other method to effect this, but by force of arms: wherefore, having previously secured the consent of his officers, and exacted a promife from the excluded members, that they would call a full and free parliament, he accompanied them to Whitehall. From thence, with a numerous guard, he conducted them to the house of commons, the other members of which were They were surprised to see a large then fitting. body of men entering the place; but foon recollected them for their ancient brethren, who had been formerly tumultuously expelled, and were now as tumultuously restored. The number of the new comers was fo superior to that of the rump, that the chiefs of this last party now, in their turn, thought proper to withdraw.

The restored members began by repealing all those orders by which they had been excluded. They renewed and enlarged the general's commission; they fixed a proper stipend for the support of the fleet and the army; and having passed these votes for the composure of the kingdom, they dissolved themselves, and gave orders for the immediate assembling a new parliament. Mean while Monk new modelled his army to the purposes he had in view. Some officers, by his direction, pre-

fented him with an address, in which they promised to obey implicitly the orders of the ensuing parliament. He approved of this engagement, which he ordered to be signed by all the different regiments; and this furnished him with a pretence for dismissing all the officers by whom it was re-

jected.

In the midst of these transactions his endeavours were very near being deseated by an accident as dangerous as unexpected. Lambert had escaped from the Tower, and began to assemble forces; and as his activity and principles were sufficiently known, Monk took the earliest precautions to oppose his measures. He dispatched Colonel Ingolds with his own regiment against Lambert, before he should have time to assemble his dependents. That officer had taken possession of Daventry with four troops of horse; but the greater part of them joined Ingolds by, to whom he himself surrendered, not without exhibiting marks of pusillanimity, that ill agreed with his former reputation.

As yet the new parliament was not afA. D. sembled, and no person had hitherto div1660. ed into the designs of the general. He
still persevered in his reserve; and although the calling a new parliament was but, in other words, to restore the king, yet his expressions
never once betrayed the secret of his bosom. Nothing but a security of considence at last extorted
the confession from him. He had been intimate
with one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonshire, of
a sedentary studious disposition, and with him alone did he deliberate upon the great and dangerous enterprize of the restoration. Sir John Granville, who had a commission from the king, applied for access to the general; but he was desired

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THE COMMONWEALTH. 253

to communicate his business to Morrice. Granville refused, though twice urged, to deliver his message to any but the general himself; so that Monk now finding he could depend upon this minister's secrecy, he opened to him his whole intentions; but with his usual caution still scrupled to commit any thing to paper. In consequence of these the king left the Spanish territories, where he very narrowly escaped being detained at Breda by the governor, under pretence of treating him with proper respect and formality. From thence he retired into Holland, where he resolved to wait for further advice.

In the mean time the elections in parliament went every where in favour of the king's party. The presbyterians had long been so harassed by the falshood, the folly, and the tyranny of the independent coadjutors, that they longed for nothing so ardently as the king's restoration. These, therefore, joined to the royalists, formed a decisive majority on every contest, and without noise, but with steddy resolution, determined to call back the king. Though the former parliament had voted that no one should be elected, who had himself, or whose father had borne arms for the late king, yet very little regard was any where paid to this ordinance; and in many places the former sufferings of the candidate were his best recommendation.

At length the long expected day for the sitting of a free parliament arrived; and they chose Sir Harbottle Grimstone for their speaker, a man, though at first attached to the opposing party, yet a royalist in his heart. The affections of all were turned towards the king; yet such were their sears, and such dangers attended a freedom of speech, that no one dared for some days to make any mention of his name. They were terrified with former examples of cruelty; and they only shewed

their

their loyalty in their bitter invectives against the late usurper, and in execrations against the murderers of their king. All this time Monk, with his usual reserve, tried their tempers, and examined the ardour of their wishes; at length, he gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform them that one Sir John Granville, a servant of the king's, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the commons.

Nothing could exceed the joy and transport with which this message was received. The members for a moment forgot the dignity of their situations, and indulged in a loud exclamation of applause. Granville was called in, and the letter eagerly read. A moment's pause was scarce allowed; all at once the house burst out into an universal assent at the king's proposals; and to dissuse the joy more widely, it was voted that the letter and declaration should immediately be published.

The king's declaration was highly relished by every order of the state. It offered a general amnesty to all persons whatsoever, and that without any exceptions, but such as should be made by parliament. It promised to indulge scrupulous consciences with liberty in matters of religion; to leave to the examination of parliament the claims of all such as possessed lands with contested titles; to confirm all these concessions by act of parliament; to satisfy the army under general Monk with respect to their arrears, and to give the same rank to his officers when they should be received into the king's service.

This declaration was not less pleasing to the lords than to the people. After voting the restitution of the ancient form of government, it was resolved to send the king fifty thousand pounds, the duke of York his brother ten thousand, and the duke

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duke of Gloucester half that sum. Then both houses erased from their records all acts that had passed to the prejudice of royalty. The army, the navy, the city of London, were eager in preparing their addresses to be presented to his majesty; and he was soon after proclaimed with great solemnity at Whitehall, and at Temple Bar. The people, now freed from all restraint, let loose their transports without bounds. Thousands were seen running about frantic with pleasure; and, as lord Clarendon says, such were the numbers of the loyalists that pressed forward on this occasion, that one could not but wonder where those people dwelt who had

lately done so much mischief.

Charles took care to confirm the substance of his declarations to the English commissioners, who were dispatched to attend him into his native do-Montague, the English admiral, waited upon his majesty to inform him that the fleet expected his orders at Scheveling. The duke of York immediately went on board, and took the command as lord high admiral. The king went on board, and landing at Dover, was received by the general, whom he tenderly embraced. different was his present triumphant return from the forlorn state in which he left the English coast at Suffex. He now faw the same people that had ardently fought his life, as warmly expressing their pleasure at his safety, and repentance for their past delufions. He entered London on the twenty-ninth of May, which was his birth-day. An innumerable concourse of people lined the way wherever he passed, and rent the air with their acclamations. They had been so long distracted by unrelenting factions, oppressed and alarmed by a succession of tyrannies, that they could no longer suppress these emotions of delight to behold their constitution restored;

stored; or rather, like a phænix, appearing more beautiful and vigorous from the ruins of its former

conflagration.

Fanaticism, with its long train of gloomy terrors, fled at the approach of freedom; the arts of society and peace began to return; and it had been happy for the people if the arts of luxury had not entered in their train.

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CHARLES II.

HIS is one of the most extraordinary epochas in English history, in which we see the people toffed into opposite factions, and, as the sea after a storm, still continuing those violent motions by which they were first impelled. We see them at one period of the following reign, with unbounded adulation foliciting the shackles of arbitrary power; at another, with equal animofity banishing all the emissaries of unbounded power from the throne; now courting the monarch, and then threatening those on whom he most depend-There feems a clue that can unravel all these inconsistencies. While the people thought the king a protestant, they were willing to intrust him with their lives and fortunes; but when they supposed that he was more inclining to popery, all their confidence vanished, and they were even willing to punish papists, as the properest method of shewing their resentment against himself.

When Charles came to the throne he was thirty years of age, possessed of an agreeable person, an elegant address, and an engaging manner. His whole demeanor and behaviour was well calculated to support and increase popularity. Accustomed during his exile to live chearfully among his courtiers, he carried the same endearing samiliarities to the throne; and from the levity of his temper no injuries were dreaded from his former resentments. But it was soon found that all these advantages were merely superficial. His indolence and love of pleasure made him averse to all kinds of business; his familiarities were prostituted to the

worst as well as the best of his subjects; and he took no care to reward his former friends, as he had taken no steps to be avenged of his former enemies.

It required some time before the several parts of the state, disfigured by war and faction, could come into proper form; a council was composed, into which church of England men and presbyterians indifcriminately were admitted; and the king's choice of his principal ministers was univerfally pleasing to the people. Sir Edward Hyde, who had attended him in his exile, was now created a peer by the title of lord Clarendon, and appointed lord-chancellor, and first minister of state. This excellent man is better known now by his merits as an historian, than as a statesman; but his integrity and wisdom were equally excellent in both. The marquis, afterwards created duke of Ormond, was appointed lord fleward of the houshold, the earl of Southampton high-treafurer, and Sir Edward Nicholas fecretary of state. These men, combined by private friendship, and pursuing one common aim, laboured only for the public, and supported its interests with their own.

But though the joy of the people was unbounded, yet something was thought to be due to justice, and some vengeance was necessary to be taken upon those who had lately involved the nation in its calamities. Though an act of indemnity was passed, those who had an immediate hand in the king's death were excepted. Even Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, though dead, were considered as proper objects of resentment; their bodies were dug from their graves, dragged to the place of execution, and, after hanging some time, buried under the gallows. Of the rest, who sat in judgment on the late monarch's trial, some

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Carey Jones, They be cruelty of titude, tyrs, which some citended to torn outpired. Coke as

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were dead, and some were thought worthy of pardon. Ten only, out of fourscore, were devoted to immediate destruction. These were enthufiafts, who had all along acted from principle, and who, in the general spirit of rage excited against them, shewed a fortitude that might do ho-

nour to a better cause.

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General Harrison, who was first brought to his trial, pleaded his cause with that undaunted firmness which he had shewn through life. What he had done, he faid, was from the impulses of the spirit of God. He would not, for any benefit to himself, hurt an hair of the poorest man or woman upon earth; and during the usurpation of Cromwell, when all the rest of the world acknowledged his right, or bowed down to his power, he had boldly upbraided the usurper to his face; and all the terrors of imprisonment, and all the allurements of ambition, had not been able to bend him to a compliance to that deceitful tyrant. Harrison's death was marked with the same admirable constancy which he shewed at his trial; so that the greatness of some virtues which he posfeffed, in some measure counterbalanced the greatnels of his guilt.

Carew, Coke, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scrope, Jones, Hacker, and Axtel, shared the same fate. They bore the fcorn of the multitude, and the cruelty of the executioner, not fimply with fortitude, but with the spirit and confidence of martyrs, who fuffered for having done their duty. Some circumstances of scandalous barbarity attended their execution. Harrison's entrails were torn out, and thrown into the fire before he expired. His head was fixed on the fledge that drew Coke and Peters to the place of execution, with The executioner the face turned towards them. having mangled Coke approached Peters, be-

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fmeared with the blood of his friend, and asked how he liked that work. Peters viewed him with an air of scorn: "You have butchered a servant "of God in my sight; but I defy your cruelty."

This was all the blood that was shed in so great a restoration. The rest of the king's judges were reprieved, and afterwards dispersed into several prisons. Charles being directed in all things by Clarendon, gave universal satisfaction as well by the lenity as the justice of his conduct. The army was disbanded that had for so many years governed the nation; prelacy, and all the ceremonies of the church of England, were restored; at the same time that the king pretended to preserve an air of moderation and neutrality. In fact, with regard to religion, Charles, in his gayer hours, was a professed deist, and attached to none; but in the latter part of his life, when he began to think more feriously, he shewed an inclination to the catholic perfuasion, which he had strongly imbibed in his exile.

But this toleration, in which all were equally included, was not able to remove the fears, or quell the enthusiasm of a few desperate men, who, by an unexampled combination, were impelled by one common phrenzy. One Venner, a desperate enthusiast, who had often conspired against Cromwell, and had as often been pardoned, had by this time persuaded his followers, that if they would take arms, Jesus would come to put himself at their head. With these expectations, to the number of fixty persons, they issued forth into the streets of London in compleat armour, and proclaimed king Jesus where ever they went, They believed themselves invulnerable and invincible, and expected the same fortune which had attended Gideon, and the other heroes of the Old Testament. Every one at first sled be-

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fore them; one unhappy man being asked who he was for, answering that he was for God and the king, they slew him upon the spot. In this manner they went from street to street, and made a desperate resistance against a body of the train bands that was fent to attack them. After killing many of the affailants, they made a regular retreat into Cane wood, near Hampstead. Being diflodged from thence, the next morning they returned to London, and took possession of an house, in which they defended themselves against a body of troops, until the majority was killed. At last the troops, who had untiled the house, and were tired of flaughter, rushed in, and seized the few that were left alive. They were tried, condemned, and executed; and to the last they declared, that if they were deceived, it was the Lord himself that was their deceiver.

The absurdity, and even ridicule which attended the professions and expectation of these poor deluded men, struck the people very strongly; and from the gloomy morofenels of enthusiasm, they now went over into the opposite extreme of riot The court itself set them the and debauchery. example; nothing but scenes of gallantry and feftivity were to be feen; the horrors of the late war were become the subject of ridicule; the formality and ignorance of the sectaries were displayed upon the stage, and even laughed at from the pulpit. But while the king thus rioted, the old faithful friends and followers of his family were left unrewarded. Numbers who had fought for him and his father, and had lost their whole fortunes in his service, still continued to pine in want and oblivion. While, in the mean time, their persecutors, who had profited by the times, had acquired fortunes during the civil war, and were still permitted to enjoy them without molestation. The suffer-

ers petitioned in vain: the family of the Stuarts were never remarkable for their gratitude; and the amusers, the flatterers, and the concubines of this monarch, enjoyed all his consideration. The wretched royalists murmured without redress; he fled from their gloomy exposulations to scenes of mirth, riot, and session.

Nevertheless his parliaments, both of England and Scotland, seemed willing to make re-A. D. paration for their former disobedience, by 1661. their present concessions. In the English

house, monarchy and episcopacy were carried to as great splendour, as they had suffered mifery and depression. The bishops were permitted to resume their seats in the house of peers; all military authority was acknowledged to be vefted in the king; and he was empowered to appoint commissioners for regulating corporations, and expelling fuch members as had intruded themselves by violence, or professed principles dangerous to the constitution. An act of uniformity in religion was paffed, by which it was required that every clergyman should be re-ordained, if he had not before received episcopal ordination; that he should declare his affent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and should take the oath of canonical obedience. In confequence of this law, above two thousand of the presbyterian clergy relinquished their cures in one day, to the great aftonishment of the nation; thus sacrificing their interest to their religion.

But the Scotch parliament went still greater lengths in their prostrations to the king. It was there that his divine, indefeasible, and hereditary right, was afferted in the sullest and most positive terms. His right was extended to their lives and possessions, and from his original grant was said to come all that his subjects might be said to enjoy.

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HARLES II.

They voted him an additional revenue of forty thousand pounds; and all their former violences were treated with a degree of the utmost detesta-

This was the time for the king to have made himself independent of all parliaments; and it is faid that Southampton, one of his ministers, had thought of procuring his master from the commons the grant of a revenue of two millions a year, which would effectually render him absolute; but in this his views were obstructed by the great Clarendon, who, the' attached to the king, was still more the friend of liberty and the laws. Charles, however, was no way interested in these opposite views of his ministers; he only defired money, in order to profecute his pleasures; and provided he had that, he little regarded the man-

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It was this careless and expensive disposition that first tended to disgust his subjects, and to dispel that intoxication of loyalty, which had taken Tho' the people were place at his reftoration. pleased with the mirth and pleasantry of their monarch, yet they could not help murmuring at his indolence; his debaucheries, and profusion. They could not help remembering the strict frugality and active diligence that marked the ulurper's adminiitration; they called to mind the victories they had gained under him, and the vast projects he had un-But they now faw an opposite picture; a court funk in debauchery, and the taxes of the nation only employed in extending vice, and corrupting the morals of the people. The ejected clergy did not fail to inflame these just resentments in the minds of the audience; but particularly when the nation faw Dunkirk, which had been acquired during the late vigorous administration, now basely sold to the French, for a small sum to **fupply**

fupply the king's extravagance, they could A.D. put no bounds to their complaints. From 1662, this time, he found the wheels of government clogged with continual obstructions, and his parliaments reluctantly granting those

fupplies, which he as meanly condescended to

implore.

His continual exigences drove him constantly to measures no way suited to his inclination. Among others, was his marriage, celebrated at this time with Catharine, the Infanta of Portugal, who, though a virtuous princess, possessed as it should feem but few personal attractions. It was the portion of this princess that the needy monarch was enamoured of, which amounted to three hundred thousand pounds, together with the fortress of Tangier in Africa, and of Bombay in the East The chancellor Clarendon, the dukes of Ormond, and Southampton, urged many reasons against this match, particularly the likelihood of her never having any children; the king difregarded their advice, and the inauspicious marriage was celebrated accordingly.

But still his necessities were greater than his supplies. He never much loved the fleady virtue of lord Clarendon, and imputed to him some of those necessities to which he was reduced. It is said alfo that this great minister prevented him from repudiating the queen, which he had thoughts of doing, in order to marry one Mrs. Stuart, on whom he had placed his affections, by procuring that lady to be privately married to the duke of Richmond. However this be, he was now willing to give him up to the refentment of the parliament, to whom he was become obnoxious, in order to obtain some farther supplies. For this purpose he affembled the commons in the Banqueting-house; and, in the close of a flattering speech, replete replete
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Belgia, has find Vol. replete with professions of eternal gratitude, and the warmest affection, he begged a supply for his present occasions, which he said were extremely pressing. They could not resist his humble supplications; they granted him four subsidies; and the clergy, in convocation, followed their example. On this occasion lord Bristol ventured to impeach the chancellor in the house of peers; but not supporting his charge for this time, the affair dropped, only in order to be revived again the

next fessions with greater animosity.

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It was probably with a view of recruiting the supply for his pleasures, that he was induced to declare war against the Dutch, as the money appointed for that purpose, would go through his hands. A vote, by his contrivance, was procured in the house of commons, alledging, that the wrongs, affronts, and indignities offered by the Dutch in several quarters of the globe, had in a great measure obstructed the trade of the nation. This was enough for his majesty to proceed upon. As his prodigality always kept him necessitous, he forefaw that he should be able to convert a part of the supplies to his private amusements. His brother also, the duke of York, longed for an opportunity of fignalizing his courage and conduct, as high admiral, against a people he hated, not only for their republican principles, but also as being one of the chief bulwarks of the protestant religion.

This war began on each fide with mutual depredations. The English, under the command of Sir Robert Holmes, not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse castle, on the coast of Africa, but likewise seized the Dutch settlements of Cape Verde, and the Isle of Goree. Sailing from thence to America, the admiral possessed himself of Nova Belgia, since called New York; a country that has since continued annexed to the English govern-

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ment. On the other hand, de Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, failed to Guinea, dispossessed the English of all their settlements there, except Cape Corfe. He then failed to America, attacked Barbadoes. but was repulsed. He afterwards committed hoftilities on Long Island. Soon after, the two most confiderable fleets of each nation met, the one under the duke of York, to the number of an hundred and fourteen fail, the other commanded by Opdam, admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly The engagement began at four in equal force. the morning, and both fides fought with their usual intrepidity. The duke of York was in the hottest part of the engagement, and behaved with great spirit and composure, while his lords and attendants were killed beside him. In the heat of. the action, when engaged in close fight with the duke, the Dutch admiral's ship blew up: this accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coast; they had nineteen ships funk and taken, the victors loft only one. This disafter threw the Dutch into consternation; and de Wit, their great minister, whose genius and wisdom were admirable, was obliged to come on board, and take the command of the fleet upon This extraordinary man quickly became as much mafter of naval affairs, as if he had been from his infancy educated in them. He even improved some parts of the naval art, beyond what expert mariners had ever expected to attain.

The success of the English naturally excited the jealousy of the neighbouring states, particularly France and Denmark, who resolved to protect the Dutch against the superior power of their opposers. The Dutch, being thus strengthened by so powerful an alliance, resolved to face their conquerors once more. De Ruyter, their great admiral, was returned from his expedition to Guinea; and was appointed

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appointed at the head of feventy-fix fail, to join the duke of Beaufort, the French admiral, who, it was supposed, was then entering the British channel from Toulon. The duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert now commanded the English fleet. which did not exceed feventy-four fail. Albemarle, who from his fuccesses under Cromwell had learned too much to despise the enemy, proposed to detach prince Rupert with twenty ships to oppose the duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayscue, well acquainted with the force of his enemies, protested against the temerity of this resolution; but Albemarle's authority prevailed. The English and Dutch, thus engaging upon unequal terms, a battle enfued, the most memorable in the annals of the ocean. The battle began with incredible fury; the Dutch admiral Evertzen was killed by a cannon ball, and one veffel of their fleet was blown up, while one of the English ships was taken: darkness parted the combatants for The fecond day they renewed the the first day. combat with increased animosity; fixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch, and the English were so shattered. that their fighting ships were reduced to twentyeight. Upon retreating towards their own coast. the Dutch followed them, where another dreadful conflict was beginning, but parted by the darkness of the night as before. The morning of the third day, the English were obliged to continue their retreat, and the Dutch persisted in pursuing. Albemarle, who fill kept in the rear, and presented a dreadful front to the enemy, made a desperate resolution to blow up his ship rather than submit to the enemy; when he happily found himself reinforced by prince Rupert with fixteen ships of the line. By this time it was night; and the next morning, after a diffant cannonading, the fleets came to a close combat, which was continued M_2

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with great violence, till they were parted by a mist-Sir George Ayscue, in a ship of one hundred guns, had the missortune to strike on the Galoper Sands, where he was surrounded and taken. The English retired first into their harbours; both sides claimed the victory, but the Dutch certainly obtained the advantage, though not the glory of the combat.

A fecond engagement, equally bloody, followed foon after, with larger fleets on both fides, commanded by the same admirals; and in this the Dutch were obliged to own themselves vanquished, and retreat into their own harbours. But they foon were in a capacity to out-number the English fleet, by the junction of Beaufort the French The Dutch fleet appeared in the admiral. Thames, conducted by their great admiral; and threw the English into the utmost consternation: a chain had been drawn across the river Medway; some fortifications had been added to the forts along the banks, but all these were unequal to the present force: Sheerness was soon taken, the Dutch passed forward, and broke the chain, though fortified by fome fhips, funk there by Albemarle's orders. Destroying the shipping in their passage, they advanced still onward, with fix men of war, and five fire-ships, as far as Upnore castle, where they burned three men of war. The whole city of London was in consternation; is was expected that the Dutch might fail up next tide to London bridge, and deftroy, not only the shipping, but even the buildings of the metropolis. But the Dutch were unable to profecute that project, from the failure of the French, who had promifed to give them affiftance; fpreading, therefore, an alarm along the coast, and having insulted Norwich, they returned to their own ports, to boatt their infult on the British glory.

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Nothing could exceed the indignation A. D. felt by the people at this difgrace. But 1667. they had lately sustained some accidental calamities, which in some measure moderated their rage and their pride. A plague had ravaged the city the year before, which swept away more than an hundred thousand of its inhabitants. This calamity was foon after followed by another still more dreadful, as more unexpected: a fire breaking out at a baker's house, who lived in Pudding-lane, near the bridge, it spread with such rapidity, that no efforts could extinguish it till it laid in ashes the most considerable part of the city. The conflagration continued three days; while the wretched inhabitants fled from one street, only to be spectators of equal calamities in another. At length, when all hope vanished, and a total destruction. was expected, the flames ceased unexpectedly, after having reduced thousands from affluence to milery. As the streets were narrow, and mostly built of wood, the flames spread the faster; and the unusual dryness of the season prevented the proper supplies of water. But the people were not fatisfied with these obvious motives; having been long taught to impute their calamities to the machinations of their enemies, they now afcribed the present misfortune to the same cause, and imputed the burning of the city to a plot laid by the papists. But happily for that fect, no proofs were brought of their guilt, though all men were willing to credit them. The magistracy, therefore, contented themselves with ascribing it to them, on a monument raised where the fire began; and which still continues as a proof of the blind credulity of the times. This calamity though at first it affected the fortunes of thousands, in the end proved both beneficial and ornamental to the city. It rose from its ruins in greater beauty M 3

than ever; and the streets being widened, and built of brick instead of wood, became thus more

wholesome and more secure.

These complicated misfortunes did not fail to excite many murmurs among the people; fearful of laying the blame on the king, whose authority was formidable, they very liberally ascribed all their calamities to papifts, jesuits, and fanatics. The war against the Dutch was exclaimed against, as unfuccessful and unnecessary; as being an attempt to humble that nation, who were equal enemies of popery with themselves. Charles himself also began to be fensible that all the ends for which he had undertaken the Dutch war, were likely to prove entirely ineffectual. Whatever projects he might have formed for fecreting the money granted him by parliament for his own use, he had hitherto failed in his intention; and instead of laying up, he found himself considerably in debt. Proposals were, therefore, thrown out for an accommodation, which, after some negotiation, the Dutch consented to accept. A treaty was concluded at Breda, by which the colony of New York was ceded by the Dutch to the English, and has continued a most valuable acquifition to the prefent time.

Upon the whole of this treaty, it was considered as inglorious to the English, as they failed in gaining any redress upon the complaints which gave rile to it. Lord Clarendon, therefore, gained a share of blame, both for having first advised an unnecessary war, and then for concluding a difgraceful peace. He had been long declining in the king's favour, and he was no less displeasing to the majority of the people. His severe virtue, his uncomplying temper, and his detestation of factious measures, were unlikely to gain him many partizans in such a court as that of Charles, that had been taught to regard every thing serious as somewhat criminal. There were many accusations

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ons now therefore brought up against him; the fale of Dunkirk, the bad payment of the feamen. and difgrace at Chatham, were all added to the accumulation of his guilt. But particularly his imputed ambition was urged among his crimes. His daughter had, while yet in Paris, commenced an amour with the duke of York; and had permitted his gallantries to transgress the bounds of virtue. Charles, who then loved Clarendon, and who was unwilling that he should suffer the mortification of a parent, obliged the duke to marry his daughter; and this marriage, which was just in itself, became culpable in the minister. A building likewife of more expence than his flender fortune could afford, had been undertaken by him; and this was regarded as a structure raised by the plunder of the public. Fewer accusations than these would have been sufficient to disgrace him with Charles; he ordered the feals to be taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman.

This feemed the fignal for Clarendon's enemies to step in, and effect his entire overthrow. The house of commons, in their address to the king, gave him thanks for his dismission of that nobleman; and immediately a charge was opened against him in the house, by Mr. Seymour, confifting of seventeen articles. These, which were only a catalogue of the popular rumours beforementioned, appeared at first fight false or frivolous. However Clarendon finding the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, running with impetuofity against him, thought proper to withdraw to France. The legislature then passed a bill of banishment and incapacity, while Clarendon continued to refide in a private manner at Paris, where he employed his leifure in reducing his hif-

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tory of the civil war into form, for which he had before collected materials.

A confederacy of great importance, which goes by the name of the Triple Alliance, was formed by Charles, foon after the fall of this great states. man, as if to flew that he could fill supply his place. It was conducted by Sir William Temple, one of the great ornaments of English literature: who united the philosopher and the statesman, and was equally great in both. This alliance was formed between England, Holland, and Sweden, to prevent the French king from completing his conquests in the Netherlands. That monarch had already subdued the greater part of that delightful country; when he was unexpectedly stopped in the midst of his career by this league, in which it was agreed by the contracting powers, that they would constitute themselves arbiters of the differences between France and Spain, and check the inordinate pretentions of either.

To this foreign confederacy succeeded one of a domestic nature, that did not promise such beneficial effects as the former. The king had long been fluctuating between his pride and his pleafures; the one urged him to extend his prerogative, the other to enjoy the good things that fortune threw in his way. He therefore would be likely to find the greatest satisfaction in those ministers, who could flatter both his wishes at once. He was excited by the active spirit of his brother, to rise above humble solicitations to his parliament; and was befet by some desperate counsellors, who importuned and encouraged him to affert his own independence. The principal of those were, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, Lauderdale, a junto distinguished by the appellation of the Cabal, a word containing the initial letters of their names. Never was there a more dangerous ministry in England,

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England, nor one more fitted to destroy all that

liberty which had been establishing for ages.

Sir Thomas Clifford, was a man of a daring and impetuous spirit, rendered more dangerous by eloquence and intrigue. Lord Ashley, soon after known by the name of lord Shaftesbury, was the most extraordinary man of his age; he had been a member of the long parliament, and had great influence among the presbyterians; he was a favourite of Cromwell, and afterwards had a confiderable hand in the restoration; he was turbulent, ambitious, fubtle, and enterprifing; wellacquainted with the blind attachment of parties, he furmounted all shame; and while he had the character of never betraying any of his friends, yet he changed his party as it fuited his convenience. The duke of Buckingham was gay, capricious, of some wit, and great vivacity, well fitted to unite, and harmonize the graver tempers of which this junto was composed. Arlington was a man but of very moderate capacity. his intentions were good, but he wanted courage to persevere in them. Lastly, the duke of Lauderdale, who was not defective in natural, and still less in acquired talents, but neither was his address. graceful, nor his understanding just; he was ambitious, obstinate, insolent and sullen. These were the men to whom Charles gave up the conduct of hisaffairs; and who plunged the remaining part of his reign in difficulties, A. D. which produced the most dangerous 1670. lymptoms.

A fecret alliance with France, and a rupture with Holland, were the first consequences of their advice. The duke of York had the considence boldly to declare himself a catholic; and to alarm the fears of the nation still more, a liberty of conscience was allowed to all sectaries, whether distances was allowed to all sectaries.

fenters, or papists. These measures were considered by the people as destructive, not only of their liberties, but of their religion, which they valued more. A proclamation was iffued, containing very rigorous clauses in favour of pressing; another full of menaces against those who ventured to speak undutifully of his majesty's measures; and even against those who heard such discourses, unless they informed in due time against the offenders. These measures, though still within bounds, were yet no way suitable to that legal administration, which upon his restoration he had promised to establish.

The English now saw themselves engaged in a league with France against the Dutch; and confequently, whether victorious or vanquished, their efforts were like to be equally unsuccessful. The French had for some years been growing into power; and now, under the conduct of their ambitious monarch, Lewis XIV. they began to threaten the liberties of Europe, and particularly the protestant religion, of which Lewis had shewn himself a determined enemy. It gave the people, therefore, a gloomy prospect, to see an union formed, which, if successful, must totally subvert that balance of power, which the protestants aimed at preferving; nor were they less apprehensive of their own fovereign, who, though he pretended to turn all religion to ridicule in his gayer hours, yet was fecretly attached to the catholics, or was very much suspected of being so. The first events of this war, therefore, were very correspondent to their fears of French treachery. The English and French combined fleets, commanded by the duke of York, and the mareschal d'Etrees, met the Dutch fleet to the number of ninety fail, commanded by admiral de Ruyter, and a furious battle ensued. In this engagement, the gallant Sandwich,

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wich, who commanded the English van, drove his thip into the midst of the enemy, beat off the admiral that ventured to attack him, funk another ship that attempted to board him, and funk three firethips that endeavoured to grapple with him. Tho' his vessel was torn with shot, and out of a thoufand men, there only remained four hundred, hefill continued to thunder in the midst of the en-At last a fire-ship, more fortunate than the former, having laid hold of his veffel, her destruction was now inevitable. Sandwich however refused to quit his ship, though warned by Sir Edward Haddock his captain; he perished in the flames, while the engagement continued to rage all around him. Night parted the combatants; the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the Eng-The loss sustained by the two maritime powers was nearly equal; but the French suffered very little, not having entered into the heat of the engagement. It was even supposed that they had orders for this conduct, and to spare their own ships, while the Dutch and English should grow weak by their mutual animolities.

The combined powers were much more successful against the Dutch by land. Lewis conquered all before him, crossed the Rhine, took all the frontier towns of the enemy, and threatened the new republic with a final dissolution. Terms were proposed to them by the two conquerors. Lewis offered them such as would have deprived them of all power of resisting an invasion from France by land. Those of Charles exposed them equally to every invasion from sea. At last, the murmurs of the English at seeing this brave and industrious people, the supporters of the protestant cause, totally sunk, and on the brink of destruction, were

A. D. obliged to call a parliament to take the sense 1673. of the nation upon his conduct; and he soon saw how his subjects stood affected.

The eyes of all men, both abroad and at home. were fixed upon this new parliament, which, af. ter many prorogations, continued fitting for near two years. Before the commons entered upon bufinels, there lay before them an affair, which difcovered, beyond a possibility of doubt, the arbitrary projects of the king. It had been a constant practice in the house for many years, in case of any vacancy, to iffue out writs for new elections: but, by Shaftesbury's advice, several members had taken their feats upon more irregular writs isfued by the chancellor; fo that the whole house in time might be filled with members clandestinely called up by the court. The house was no sooner therefore affembled, and the speaker placed in his chair, than a motion was made against this method of election; and the members themselves, thus called to parliament, had the modesty to withdraw.

The king's late declaration of indulgence to all fectaries was next taken into confideration, and a remonstrance drawn up against that exercise of the prerogative. The commons perfifted in their opposition to it; and represented that such a practice, if admitted, might tend to interrupt the free course of the laws, and alter the legislative power, which had always been acknowledged to refide in the king and the two houses. Charles, therefore, found himself obliged, reluctantly, to retract his declaration; but that he might do it with a better grace, he asked the opinion of the house of peers, who advised him to comply. The commons expressed the utmost satisfaction with this measure, and the most entire duty to the king. He on his part affured them, that he would willingly pass any law

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law which might tend to give them satisfaction in

all their just grievances.

Having abridged the king's stretches of power in these points, they went still farther, and resolved to make the conformity of national principles still more general. A law was passed, entitled the Test act, imposing an oath on all who should enjoy any public office. Besides the taking the oaths of allegiance, and the king's supremacy, they were obliged to receive the sacrament once a year in the established church, and to abjure all belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation. As the dissenters also had seconded the efforts of the commons against the king's declaration for indulgence, a bill was passed for their ease and relief, which, however, went with some difficulty through the house of

peers.

But still the great object of their meeting was to be enquired into; for the war against the Dutch continued to rage with great animofity. Several fea engagements succeeded each other very rapidly. which brought on no decifive action; both nations claiming the victory after every battle. The commons, therefore, weary of the war, and distrustful even of success, resolved that the standing army was a grievance. They next declared, that they would grant no more supplies to carry on the Dutch war, unless it appeared that the enemy continued so obstinate as to refuse all reasonable conditions. To cut thort these disagreeable altercations; the king resolved to prorogue the parliament; and, with that intention, he went unexpectedly to the house of peers, and sent the usher of the black-rod to fummon the house of commons to attend. It happened that the speaker and the wher nearly met at the door of the house; but the speaker, being within, some of the members suddenly shut the door, and cried To the chair! Upon which the

the following motions were instantly made in a tumultuous manner. That the alliance with France
was a grievance; that the evil counsellors of the
king were a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale was a grievance; and then the house rose in
great confusion. The king soon saw that he could
expect no supply from the commons for carrying
on the war, which was so odious to them; he resolved, therefore, to make a separate peace with
the Dutch, on terms which they had proposed
through the channel of the Spanish ambassador.
For form sake, he asked the advice of his parliament, who, concurring heartily in his intentions,

a peace was concluded accordingly.

This turn in the system of the king's politics. was very pleasing to the nation in general; but the Cabal quickly faw that it would be the destruction of all their future attempts and power. Shaftesbury, therefore, was the first to desert them, and go over to the country party, who received him with open arms, and trusted him with unbounded reserve. Clifford was dead. Buckingham was defirous of imitating Shaftefbury's example. Lauderdale and Arlington were exposed to all the effects of national refentment. Articles of impeachment were drawn up against the former, which, however, were never profecuted; and as for the other, he every day grew more and more out of favour with the king, and contemptible to the people. This was an end of the power of a junto, that had laid a fettled plan for overturning the constitution, and fixing unlimited monarchy upon its ruins.

A. D. the Dutch and the French went on with 1674. the greatest vigour; and although the latter were repressed for a while, they still continued making encroachments upon the enemies

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nemies territories. The Dutch forces were commanded by the Prince of Orange, who was poffessed of courage, activity, vigilance, and patience. but he was inferior in genius to those consummate generals opposed to him. He was, therefore, always unfuccessful; but still found means to repair his losses, and to make head in a little time against his victorious enemies. These ineffectual ftruggles for the preservation of his country's freedom, interested the English strongly in his favour; fo that from being his oppofers, they now wished to lend him affistance. They considered their alliance with France as threatening a subversion of the protestant religion; and they longed for an union with him, as the only means of fecurity. commons, therefore, addressed the king, reprefenting the danger to which the kingdom was exposed from the growing greatness of France; and they assured him, in case of a war, that they would not be backward in their supplies. Charles was not displeased with the latter part of their address. as money was necessary for his pleasures. He therefore told them, that unless they granted him fix hundred thousand pounds, it would be imposfible for him to give them a fatisfactory answer. The commons refused to trust to his majesty's professions; his well known profusion was before their eyes. The king reproved them for their diffidence, and immediately ordered them to adjourn. The marriage of the duke of York's eldest daughter, the princess 1677. Mary, heir apparent to the crown, with the prince of Orange, was a measure that gave great satisfaction in these general disquietudes about religion. The negotiation was brought about by the king's own defire; and the protestants now faw an happy prospect before them of a succession that would be favourable to their much loved reformation.

formation. A negotiation for peace between the French and the Dutch followed foon after, which was rather favourable to the latter. But the mutual animolities of these states not being as yet sufficiently quelled, the war was continued for some time longer. The king, therefore, to satisfy his parliament, who declared loudly against the French, sent over an army of three thousand men to the continent, under the command of the duke of Monmouth, to secure Ostend. A sleet also was sitted out with great diligence; and a quadruple alliance was projected between England, Holland, Spain, and the Emperor. These vigorous measures brought about the samous treaty of Nimeguen, which gave a general peace to Eugen,

A. D. rope. But though peace was secured 1678. abroad, the discontents of the people still

continued at home.

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C H A P. XXXVI.

CHARLES II. (Continued.)

THIS reign presents the most amazing contrasts of levity and cruelty, of mirth and gloomy suspicion. Ever fince the fatal league with France, the people had entertained violent jealoufies against the court. The fears and discontents of the nation were vented without restraint; the apprehensions of a popish successor, an abandoned court, and a parliament which, though sometimes affertors of liberty, yet continuing seventeen years without change; these naturally rendered the minds of mankind timid and suspicious, and they only wanted objects on which to wreck their ill humour.

When the spirit of the English is once roused, they either find objects of fuspicion or make them. On the twelfth of August, one Kirby, a chemist, accosted the king as he was walking in the Park. " Sir, said he, keep within the company, your e-" nemies have a defign upon your life, and you " may be shot in this very walk." Being questioned in consequence of this strange intimation, he offered to produce one doctor Tongue, a weak feredulous clergyman, who had told him that two persons, named Grove and Pickering, were engaged to murder the king; and that Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, had undertaken the same task by poison. Tongue was introduced to the king with a bundle of papers relating to this pretended conspiracy, and was referred to the lord treasurer Danby. He there declared that the papers were thrust under his door; and he afterwards declared, that he knew the author of them, who

defired that his name might be concealed, as he

dreaded the resentment of the Jesuits.

This information appeared to vague and unfatisfactory, that the king concluded the whole was a fiction. However Tongue was not to be repressed in the ardour of his loyalty; he went again to the lord treasurer, and told him, that a pacquet of letters, written by Jesuits concerned in the plot, was that night to be put into the post-house for Windsor, directed to one Bedingsield, a Jesuit, who was confessor to the duke of York, and who resided there. These letters had actually been received a few hours before by the duke; but he had shewn them to the king as a forgery, of which he neither knew the drift nor the meaning. This incident still farther confirmed the king in his incredulity. He defired, however, that it might be concealed, as it might raise a flame in the nation; but the duke, folicitous to prove his innocence, infifted upon a nicer discussion, which turned out very different from his expectations.

Titus Oates, who was the fountain of all this dreadful intelligence, was produced foon after, who, with feeming reluctance, came to give his intelligence. This man affirmed that he had fallen under the suspicion of the Jesuits, and that he had concealed himself, in order to avoid their resent-This Titus Oates was an abandoned mifment. creant, obscure, illiterate, vulgar, and indigent. He had been once indicted for perjury, was afterwards chaplain on board a man of war, and dilmissed for unnatural practices. He then professed himself a Roman catholic, and crossed the sea to St. Omer's, where he was for some time maintained in the English seminary of that city. fathers of that college fent him with some dispatches to Spain; but after his return, when they became better acquainted with his character, they would would that he was rea At a tin trufted was alle by was

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would not suffer him to continue among them; so that he was obliged to return to London, where he was ready to encounter every danger for his support. At a time that he was supposed to have been entrusted with a secret involving the sate of kings, he was allowed to remain in such necessity, that Kirby was obliged to supply him with daily bread.

He had two methods to proceed, either to ingratiate himself by this information with the ministry, or to alarm the people, and thus turn their fears to his advantage. He chose the latter method. went, therefore, with his two companions to Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, a noted and active justice of peace, and before him deposed to a narrative dreffed up in terrors fit to make an impression on the vulgar. The pope, he faid, confidered himfelf as entitled to the poffession of England and Ireland, on account of the herefy of the prince and people, and had accordingly assumed the sovereignty of these kingdoms. This, which was St. Peter's patrimony, he had delivered up to the Jesuits, and Oliva, the general of that order, was his de-Several English catholic lords, whose names he mentioned, were appointed by the pope to the other offices of state; lord Arundel was created chancellor, lord Powis treasurer, Sir William Godolphin privy-feal, Coleman, the duke's fecretary, was made fecretary of state, Langhorne attorney-general, lord Belasis general of the forces, lord Peters lieutenant-general, and lord Stafford pay-master. The king, whom the Jesuits called the Black Bastard, was solemnly tried by them, and condemned as an heretic. He afferted that father Le Shee, meaning the French king's confeffor La Chaise, had offered ten thousand pounds to any man who should kill the king. Ten thouland pounds had been offered to Sir George Wakeman to poison him; but he was mercenary, and

and demanded fifteen thousand, which demand was complied with. Left these means should fail. four Irish ruffians had been employed by the lefuits at the rate of twenty guineas a piece to flab the king at Windsor. Coleman, late secretary to the dutchess of York, was deeply involved in the plot, and had given a guinea to the messenger, who carried them orders for the affaffination. Grove and Pickering, to make fure work, were employed to shoot the king, and that too with filver bullets. The former was to receive fifteen hundred pounds for his pains, and the latter, being a pious man, thirty thousand masses. Pickering would have executed his purpose, had not the flint dropped out of his pistol at one time, and at another the priming. Oates went on to fay that he himself was chiefly employed in carrying notes and letters among the Jesuits, all tending to the same end of murdering the king. A wager of an hundred pound was made, and the money deposited that the king should eat no more Christmas pyes. The great fire of London had been the work of the Jesuits; several other fires were resolved on, and a paper model was already framed for firing the city anew. Fire-balls were called among them Tewksbury mustard-pills. Twenty thousand catholics in London were prepared to rife; and Coleman had remitted two hundred thousand pounds to affift the rebels in Ireland. The duke of York was to be offered the crown in confequence of the fuccess of these probable schemes, on condition of extirpating the protestant religion. Upon his refusal "To pot James must go," as the Jesuits were faid to express it.

In consequence of this dreadful information, sufficiently marked with absurdity, vulgarity, and contradiction, Titus Oates became the favourite of the people, notwithstanding during his examination

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nation before the council, he so betrayed the groffness of his impostures, that he contradicted himself in every step of his narration. While in Spain he had been carried, he said, to Don John, who promised great assistance to the execution of the catholic designs. The king asked him what sort of a man his old acquaintance Don John was? Oates replied, that he was a tall lean man, which was directly contrary to the truth, as the king well knew. Though he pretended great intimacies with Coleman, yet he knew him not when placed very near him, and had no other excuse but that his sight was bad by candle-light. He was guilty of the same mistake with regard to Sir George Wakeman.

But these improbabilities had no weight against the general wish, if I may so express it, that they should be true. The violent animosity which had been excited against the catholics in general, made the people find a gloomy pleasure in hoping for an opportunity of satisting their hatred. The more improbable any account seemed, the more unlikely it was that any impostor should invent improbabilities, and therefore appeared more like

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A great number of the Jesuits mentioned by Oates were immediately taken into custody. Coleman, who was said to have acted so strenuous a part in the conspiracy, at first retired; but next day surrendered himself to the secretary of state, and some of his papers, by Oates's directions, were secured. These papers, which were such as might be naturally expected from a zealous catholic in his situation, were converted into very dangerous evidence against him. He had, without any doubt, maintained a close correspondence with the French king's confessor, with the pope's nuncio at Brusfels, and with many other catholics abroad, in which

which there was a distant project on foot for bringing back popery upon the accession of the duke of York. But these letters contained nothing that ferved as proof in the prefent information; and their very filence in that respect, though they appeared imprudent enough in others, was a proof against Oates's pretended discovery. However, when the contents of those letters were publicly known, they diffused the panic which the former narrative had begun. The two plots were brought to strengthen each other, and confounded into one. Coleman's letters shewed there had actually been defigns on foot, and Oates's narrative was

supposed to give the particulars.

In this fluctuation of passions, an accident served to confirm the prejudices of the people, and to put it beyond a doubt that Oates's narrative was nothing but the truth. Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, who had been so active in unravelling the whole mystery of the popish machinations, after having been missing some days, was found dead in a ditch by Primrose-hill, in the way to Hampstead. His own fword was thrust through his body; but no blood had flowed from the wound; fo that it appeared he was dead some time before this method was taken to deceive the public. He had money in his pockets, and there was a broad livid mark quite round his neck, which was diflocated, The cause of his death remains, and must still continue, a fecret; but the people, already enraged against the papists, did not hesitate a moment to ascribe it to them. No farther doubt remained of Oates's veracity; the voice of the whole nation united against them; and the populace were exasperated to such a degree, that moderate men began to dread a general massacre of that unhappy fect. The body of Godfrey was carried through the streets in procession, preceded by seventy clergymen ; that his Even th this vu convicti any reg doubt the mul

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gymen; and every one who saw it made no doubt that his death could be only caused by the papists. Even the better fort of people were infected with this vulgar prejudice; and such was the general conviction of popish guilt, that no person, with any regard to personal safety, could express the least doubt concerning the information of Oates, or

the murder of Godfrey.

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It only remained for the parliament to reprefs these delusions, and to bring back the people to calm and deliberate inquiry. But the parliament testified greater credulity than even the vulgar. The cry of plot was immediately echoed from one house to the other; the country party would not let flip fuch an opportunity of managing the paffions of the people; the courtiers were afraid of being thought difloyal, if they should doubt the innocence of the pretended affaffins of their king. Danby, the prime minister, himself entered into it very furiously; and though the king told him that he had thus given the houses a handle to ruin himself, and to disturb the affairs of government, yet this minister persevered, till he found the king's prognostic but too true.

The king himself, whose safety was thus threatened and defended, was the only person who treated the plot with becoming contempt. He made several efforts for stifling an inquiry, which was likely to involve the kingdom in confusion, and must at any rate hurt his brother, who had more than once professed his resolution to defend the ca-

tholic religion.

In order to continue and propagate the alarm, an address was voted for a solemn fast. It was requested that all papers tending to throw light upon so horrible a conspiracy might be laid before the house, that all papists should remove from London.

don, that access should be denied at court to all unknown and suspicious persons, and that the train bands in London and Westminster should be in readiness to march. They voted, after hearing Oates's evidence, that there was a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by the popish recusants, for assassing and murdering the king, and for rooting out the protestant religion. Oates, who had acknowledged the accusations against his morals to be true, was, however, recommended by parliament to the king. He was lodged in Whitehall, and encouraged by a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year to proceed in forg-

ing new informations.

The encouragement given to Oates did not fail to bring in others also, who hoped to profit by the delusion of the times. William Bedloe, a man, if possible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next upon the stage. He was, like the former, of very low birth, had been noted for feveral cheats and thefts, had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names, and had frequently paffed himself for a man of quality. This man, at his own defire, was arrested at Bristol, and conveyed to London, where he declared before the council that he had feen the body of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey at Somerfet-house, where the queen lived. He said that a servant of lord Bellasis offered to give him four thousand pounds if he would carry it off. He was questioned about the plot, but utterly denied all knowledge of it, and also asferted that he had no acquaintance with Oates. Next day, however, he thought it would be better to share the emoluments of the plot, and he gave an ample account of it. This narrative he made to tally as well as he could with the information of Oates, which had been published; but to render it the more acceptable, he added some circumstan-

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ees of his own, stil more tremendous, and still more absurd, than those of Oates. He said that ten thousand men were to be landed from Flanders in Burlington-bay, and were immediately to seize Hull. He affirmed that the lords Powis and Petre had undertaken to raife an army in Radnorthire; that fifty thousand men were ready to rise in London; that he himself had been tampered with to murder a man, and was to receive four thousand pounds for that service, beside the pope's bleffing; that the King was to be affaffinated, the protestants butchered, and the kingdom offered to One, if he would confent to hold it of the church; if not, the pope should continue to govern without him. He likewise accused the lords Carrington and Brudenell, who were committed to custody by order of parliament. But the most terrible part of all was that Spain was to invade England with forty thousand men, who were ready at St. Jago in the character of pilgrims; though at this time Spain was actually unable to raife ten thousand men to supply her own garrisons in Flanders.

These narrations carry their own refutation; the infamy of the witnesses, the contradiction in their testimony, the improbability of it, the low vulgarity of the information, unlike what men trusted with great affairs would be apt to form, all these ferve to raife our horror against these base villains, and our pity at the delusion of the times that could credit fuch reports. In order to give a confident air to the discovery, Bedloe published a pamphlet, with this title, "A Narrative and impartial Difcovery of the horrid Popish Plot, carried on for the burning and destroying the Cities of London and Westminster, with their suburbs, &c. by Captain William Bedloe, lately engaged in that horrid deign, and one of the Popish committees for carry-VOL. III.

ing on fuch fires." The papifts were thus become fo obnoxious, that vote after vote passed against them in the house of commons. They were called idolaters; and fuch as did not concur in acknowledging the truth of the epithet, were expelled the house without ceremony. Even the duke of York was permitted to keep his place in the house by a majority of only two. "I would not, faid one of the lords, have fo much as a popish man " or a popish woman to remain here, not so much " as a popish dog, or a popish bitch, not so much ". as a popish cat to mew, or pur about our king." This was wretched eloquence; but it was admi-

rably fuited to the times.

Encouraged by the general voice in their favour, the witnesses, who all along had enlarged their narratives, in proportion as they were greedily received, went a step farther, and ventured to accuse the queen. The commons, in an address to the king, gave countenance to this scandalous accusation; the lords rejected it with becoming dis-The king received the news of it with his usual good humour. "They think, said he, that "I have a mind to a new wife; but for all that I "will not fuffer an innocent woman to be abul-He immediately ordered Oates to be strictly confined, seized his papers, and dismissed his fervants. But his favour with parliament loon procured his releafe.

Edward Coleman, fecretary to the duke of York, was the first who was brought to trial, as being most obnoxious to those who pretended to fear the introduction of popery. His letters were produced They plainly testified a violent zeal against him. for the catholic cause, and that alone at present was sufficient to convict him. But Oates and Bedloe came in to make his condemnation fure. The former swore that he had sent fourscore guineas

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to a ruffian, who undertook to kill the king. The date of the transaction he fixed in the month of August, but would not fix the particular day. Coleman could have proved that he was in the country the greatest part of that month, and therefore the witness would not be particular. Bedloe swore that he had received a commission, signed by the superior of the Jesuits, appointing him papal fecretary of state, and that he had consented to the king's affaffination. After this unfortunate man's fentence, thus procured by these vipers, many members of both houses offered to interpose in his behalf, if he would make an ample confession; but as he was, in reality, possessed of no treasonable fecrets, he would not procure life by falfehood and imposture. He suffered with calmness and conflancy, and to the last persisted in the strongest protestations of his innocence.

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The trial of Coleman was succeeded by those of Ireland, Pickering, and Grove. Ireland, a Jesuit, was accused by Oates and Bedloe, the only witnelles against him, that he was one of the fifty Jefuits who had figned the great resolve against the king. Ireland affirmed, and proved, that he was in Staffordshire all the month of August, a time when Oates afferted he was in London. The jury brought him in guilty, and the judge commended their verdict, It was in the same manner sworn that Pickering and Grove had bound themselves by an oath to affailinate the king; that they had provided themselves with screwed pistols and filver bullets. They both protested their innocence, and were found guilty. All these unhappy men went to execution protesting their innocence, a circumstance which made no impression on the spectators; their being Jesuits banished even pity from their sufferings.

N 2

The animolities of the people, however, seemed a little appealed by the execution of these four; but a new train of evidence was now discovered, that kindled the flame once more. One Miles Prance. a goldfmith, and a professed Roman catholic, had been accused by Bedloe of being an accomplice in Sir Edmondsbury's murder; and, upon his denial, had been loaded with heavy irons, and thrown into the condemned hole, a place cold, dark, and noi-There the poor wretch lay groaning and exclaiming that he was not guilty; but being next day carried before lord Shaftesbury, and there threatened with severer punishment in case of obstinacy, he demanded if a confession would procure his pardon. Being affured of that, he had no longer courage to relift, but confessed himself an accomplice in Godfrey's murder. He foon after, however, retracted his evidence before the king; but the same rigours being employed against him, he was induced once more to confirm his first in-The murder, he faid, was committed in Somerset-house, by the contrivance of Gerrard and Kelly, two Irish priests. That Lawrence Hill, footman to the queen's treasurer, Robert Green, cushion-keeper to her chapel, and Henry Berry, porter of the palace, followed Sir Edmondsbury at a distance, from ten in the morning till feven in the evening; but that passing by Somerfet-house, Green throwing a twisted handkerchief over his head, he was foon strangled, and the body carried to a high chamber in Somerset-house, from whence it was removed to another apartment, where it was feen by Bedloe.

Hill, Green, and Berry, were tried upon this evidence, though Bedloe's narrative, and Prance's information, were totally irreconcileable, and though their testimony was invalidated by contrary evidence,

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evidence, all was in vain, the prisoners were condemned and executed. They all denied their guilt at execution; and as Berry died a protestant. this circumstance was regarded as very considerable. But instead of stopping the torrent of credulity, it only increased the people's animosity against a protestant, who could at once be guilty of a po-

pish plot, of murder, and of denying it in his last

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This trightful perfecution continued for fome time; and the king, contrary to his own judgment, was obliged to give way to the popular Whitebread, provincial of the Jesuits, Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, all of them of the same order, were brought to their trial: Langhorne foon after. Besides Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale, a new witness, appeared against the pri-This man spread the alarm still farther. and even afferted, that two hundred thousand papists in England were ready to take arms. priloners proved, by fixteen witnesses from St. Omers, that Oates was in that feminary at the time he swore he was in London. But as they were papifts, their testimony could gain no manner of credit. All pleas availed them nothing; both the Jesuits and Langhorne were condemned and executed, with their last breat, denying the crimes for which they died.

The informers had less success on the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, who, though they fwore with their usual animofity, was acquitted. His condemnation would have involved the queen in his guilt; and it is probable the judge and jury were afraid of venturing fo

far.

The earl of Stafford, near two years after, was the last man that fell a facrifice to these bloody wretches; the witnesses produced against him were

N 3

Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville. Oates fwore that he faw Fenwick, the Jesuit, deliver Stafford a commission from the general of the Jesuits, constituting him pay-master of the papal army. Dugdale gave testimony that the prisoner had endeavoured to engage him in the defign of murdering the king. Turberville affirmed, that the prisoner, in his own house at Paris, had made him the same proposal. The clamour and outrage of the populace against the prisoner was very great; he was found guilty and condemned to be hanged and quartered; but the king changed the fentence into that of beheading. He was executed on Tower-hill, where even his perfecutors could not forbear shedding tears at that serene fortitude which thone in every feature, motion, and accent of this aged nobleman. Some other lords, who were taken up and imprisoned upon the former evidence, were tried and a equitted some time after, when the people began to recover from their phrenzy,

But while these prosecutions were going forward, raised by the credulity of the people, and feconded by the artifice of the parliament, other defigns equally vindictive, were carried on. The lord treaturer Danby was impeached in the house of commons, by Seymour his enemy. The principal charge against him was, his having written a letter to Montague, the king's ambassador at l'aris, directing him to sell the king's good offices at the treaty of Nimeguen, to the king of France for a certain fum of money; contrary to the general interests of the confederates, and even those of his own kingdoms. This was a charge he could not deny; and though the king was more culpable than the minister, yet the profecution was carried on against him with vigour. But he had the happiness to find the king resolved to defend him. Charles affured the parliament,

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that as he had acted in every thing by his orders, he held him as entirely blameless; and though he would deprive him of all his employments, yet he would positively insist on his personal safety. lords were obliged to submit; however they went on to impeach him, and Danby was fent to the

Tower, but no worfe confequences enfued.

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These furious proceedings had been all carried on by an house of commons that had now continued undiffolved for above seventeen years; the king, therefore, was refolved to try a new one, which he knew could not be more unmanageable. than the former. However, the new parliament did not in the least abate of the activity and obstinacy of their predecessors. The king, indeed, changed his council, by the advice of Sir William Temple, and admitted into it several of both parties, by which he hoped to appeale his opponents; but the antipathy to popery had taken too fast a possession of men's minds, to be removed by so feeble a remedy. This house resolved to strike at the root of the evil, which threatened them from a popish successor; and, after some deliberations, a bill was brought in for the total exclusion of the duke of York from the crown of England and Ireland. It was by that intended, that the fovereignty of these kingdoms, upon the king's death or refignation, should devolve to the person next in fuccession to the duke; and that all acts of royalty, which that prince should afterwards perform, should not only be void, but deemed trea-This important bill passed the lower house, by a majority of feventy-nine.

Nor did their efforts rest here, the commons voted the king's standing army and guards to be They proceeded to establish limits to the illegal. king's power of imprisoning delinquents at will. It was now that the celebrated statute, called the

N 4

Habeas

Habeas Corpus act, was passed, which confirms the subject in an absolute security from oppressive power. By this act, it was prohibited to fend any one to prisons beyond the sea: no judge, under fevere penalties, was to refuse to any prisoner his writ of habeas corpus; by which the gaoler was to produce in court the body of the prisoner, whence the writ had its name, and to certify the cause of his detainer and imprisonment. If the gaol lies within twenty miles of the judge, the writ must be obeyed in three days, and so proportionably for greater distances. Every prisoner must be indicted the first term of his commitment, and brought to trial the subsequent term. And no man after being enlarged by court, can be recommitted for the fame offence.

This law alone, would have been sufficient to endear the parliament that made it to posterity; and it would have been well if they had refted The duke of York had retired to Bruffels there. during these troubles; but an indisposition of the king led him back to England, to be ready, in case of any finister accident, to affert his right to the throne. After prevailing upon his brother to difgrace the duke of Monmouth, a natural fon of the king's, by one Mrs. Waters, and now become very popular, he himself retired to Scotland, under pretence of still quieting the apprehensions of the English nation; but in reality, to strengthen his interests there. This secession served still more to enflame the country party, who were strongly attached to the duke of Monmouth, and were refolved to support him against the duke of York. Mobs, petitions, pope burnings, were artifices employed to keep up the terrors of popery, and alarm the court. The parliament had shewn favour to the various tribes of informers, and that ferved to increase the number of these miscreants;

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but plots themselves also became more numerous. Plot was set up against plot; and the people kept

still suspended in dreadful apprehension.

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The Meal-Tub Plot, as it was called, was brought forward to the public on this occasion. One Dangerfield, more infamous, if possible, than Oates and Bedloe, a wretch who had been fet in the pillory, scourged, branded, and transported for felony and coining, hatched a plot in conjunction with a midwife, whose name was Cellier, a Roman catholic, of abandoned charac-Dangerfield began by declaring, that there was a defign on foot to fet up a new form of government, and remove the king and the royal family. He communicated this intelligence to the king and the duke of York, who supplied him with money, and countenanced his discovery. He hid some seditious papers in the lodgings of one colonel Mansel; and then brought the cuftom-house officers to his apartment, to search for smuggled merchandize. The papers were found, and the council having examined the affair, concluded they were forged by Dangerfield. ordered all the places he frequented to be fearched; and in the house of Cellier, the whole scheme of the conspiracy was discovered upon paper, concealed in a meal-tub, from whence the plot had its name. Dangerfield being committed to Newgate, made an ample confession of the forgery, which, though probably entirely of his own contrivance, he ascribed to the earl of Castlemain, the countess of Powis, and the five lords in the He faid that the defign was to suborn witnesses to prove a charge of sodomy and perjury upon Oates, to affassinate the earl of Shaftesbury, to accuse the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Essex, Halifax and others, of having been concerned in the conspiracy against N 5

the king and his brother. Upon this information, the earl of Castlemain and the countess of Powis were fent to the Tower, and the king himself was suspected of encouraging this imposture.

But it was not by plots alone the adverse parties endeavoured to supplant each other. Tumultuous petitions on the one hand, and flattering addresses on the other, were fent up from all quarters. Wherever the country party prevailed, petitions filled with grievances, and apprehensions, were fent to the king with an air of humble insolence, Wherever the church or the court party prevailed, addresses were framed, containing expressions of the highest regard to his majesty, and the deepest abhorrence of those who endeavoured to disturb the public tranquillity. Thus the nation came to be diftinguished into Petitioners and Abhorrers. Whigh and Tory also were first used as terms of mutual reproach at this time. The Whigs, were fo denominated from a cant name given to the four Scotch conventiclers, (Whig being milk turned four.) The Tories were denominated from the Irish banditti fo called, whose usual manner of bidding people deliver, was by the Irish word Toree, or give me.

As this parliament feemed even to furpass the former in jealoufy and refentment, the king was induced to diffolve it; and could willingly have never applied to another. But his necessities, caused by his want of acconomy, and his numberiefs needy dependents, obliged him to call ano-

ther. However, every change feemed A.D. only to inflame the evil; and his new parliament feemed willing to outdo even their predecessors. Every step they took, betrayed that zeal with which they were animated. They voted the legality of petitioning to the king; they fell with extreme violence on the Abhorrers,

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who, in their addresses to the crown, had expressed their disapprobation of those petitions. Great numbers of these were seized by their order, from all parts of England, and committed to close cuftody: the liberty of the subject, which had been so carefully guarded by their own recent law, was every day violated by their arbitrary and capricious commitments. One Stowel of Exeter, was the person that put a stop to their proceedings; he refused to obey the serieant at arms, who was fent to apprehend him; he stood upon his defence, and faid he knew no law by which they pretended to commit him. The house, finding it equally dangerous to proceed or to recede, got off by an They inferted in their votes, that Stowel was indisposed; and a month's time was allowed him for his recovery. It is happy for the nation, that should the commons at any time overleap the bounds of their authority, and order men capriciously to be committed to prison; there is no power, in case of resistance, that can compel the prisoner to submit to their decrees.

But the chief point which the commons laboured to obtain, was the Exclusion Bill, which, though the former house had voted, was never passed into Shaftesbury, and many considerable men of the party, had rendered themselves so obnoxious to the duke of York, that they could find fafety in no measure but his ruin. Monmouth's friends hoped that the exclusion of James would make room for their own patron. The duke of York's professed bigotry to the catholic superstition influenced numbers; and his tyrannies, which were practifed without control, while he continued in Scotland, rendered his name odious to In a week, therefore, after the comthousands. mencement of the fessions, a motion was made tor bringing in an exclution bill, and a committee

was appointed for that purpose. The debates were carried on with great violence on both fides: the bill was defended by lord Ruffel, who had now refigned his office of attorney general, by Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Harry Capel, Sir William Pultney, colonel Titus, Treby, Hampden, and Montague. It was opposed by Sir Leoline Jenkins, secretary of state, Sir John Ernely, chancellor of the exchequer; by Hyde, Seymour, and Temple: The bill passed by a great majority in the house of commons, but was opposed in the house of peers with better success. Shaftesbury, Sunderland, and Essex, argued for Halifax chiefly conducted the arguments against it. The king was present during the whole debate; and had the pleasure of seeing the bill thrown out by a very great majority. All the bishops, except three, voted against it; for they were of opinion that the church of England was in much greater danger from the prevalence of presbyterianism, than of popery.

The commons were extremely mortified and enraged at the rejection of their favourite bill; and to shew how strongly they resented the indulgence which was shewn to popery, they passed a bill for easing the protestant dissenters, and for repealing fuch acts as tended to their perfecution. They proceeded to bring in bills, which, though contributing to secure the liberty of the subject, yet probably at that period only calculated to excite them to insurrection. They had thoughts of renewing the triennial act; of continuing the judges in their offices during good behaviour; of ordering an affociation for the defence of his majesty's perfon, and the fecurity of the protestant religion. They voted, that till the exclusion bill was passed, they could not, confistent with the trust reposed in them, grant the king any manner of supply; and

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and to prevent his taking other methods to get money, they voted that whoever should hereaster lend, by way of advance, any money upon any branches of the king's revenue, should be responsible to parliament for his conduct. The king, therefore, finding that there were no hopes of extorting either money or obedience from the commons, came to a resolution of once more dissolving the parliament. His usher of the black-rod accordingly came to dissolve them, while they were voting that the dissenters should be encouraged, and that the papists had burned the city of London.

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The parliament thus diffolved, it was confidered as a doubt, whether the king would ever call another: however, the defire he had of being supplied with money, furmounted his fears from every violence a parliament might offer. But it had always been supposed that the neighbourhood of London, at once both potent and factious, was an improper place for affembling a parliament that would be stedfast in the king's interests; he therefore resolved at once to punish the Londoners, by shewing his suspicions of their loyalty; and to reward the inhabitants of Oxford; by bringing down his parliament to that city. Accordingly a parliament was ordered to affemble at Oxford, and measures taken on both fides to engage the partizans to be strenuous in their resolutions. In this, as in all former parliaments, the country party predominated; the parliamentary leaders came to that city, attended not only by their fervants but with numerous bands of their retainers. four London members were followed by great multitudes, wearing ribands, in which were woven these words, "No Popery! No Slavery!" The

king was not behind them in the number and for-

midable appearance of his guards; fo that the parliament rather bore the appearance of a military

congress, than of a civil affembly.

This parliament trod exactly in the steps of the former. The commons having chosen the same speaker, who filled the chair last parliament, ordered the votes to be printed every day, that the public might be acquainted with the subject of The bill of exclusion was their deliberations. more fiercely urged than ever. Ernely, one of the king's ministers, proposed that the duke should be banished during life, five hundred miles from England; and that upon the king's death, the next heir should be constituted regent with regal power, Yet even this expedient, which left the duke the bare title of king, could not obtain the attention Nothing but a total exclusion could of the house.

fatisfy them.

Each party had now for some time reviled and ridiculed each other in pamphlets and libels; and this practice, at last, was attended with an incident, that deferves notice. One Fitzharris, an Irish papist, dependent on the dutchess of Portsmouth, one of the king's mistresses, used to supply her with these occasional publications. But he was refolved to add to their number by his own endeavours; and employed one Everhard, a Scotchman, to write a libel against the king and the duke of York. The Scot was actually a spy for the opposite party; and supposing this a trick to entrap him, he discovered the whole to Sir William Waller, an eminent justice of peace; and to convince him of the truth of his information, posted him, and two other persons, privately, where they heard the whole conference between Fitzharris and himfelf. The libel composed between them was replete with the utmost rancour and scurrility. Waller carried the intelligence to the king, and obtained a warrant for committing Fitzharris, who happened

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at that very time to have a copy of the libel in his pocket. Seeing himself in the hands of a party, from which he expected no mercy, he resolved to side with them, and throw the odium of the libel upon the court, who, he said, were willing to draw up a libel, which should be imputed to the exclusioners, and thus render them hateful to the people. He enhanced his services with the country party, by a new popish plot, still more tremendous than any of the foregoing. He brought in the duke of York as a principal accomplice in this plot, and as a contriver in the murder of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey.

The king imprisoned Fitzharris; the commons avowed his cause. They voted that he should be impeached by themselves, to screen him from the ordinary forms of justice; the lords rejected the impeachment; the commons afferted their right; a commotion was likely to ensue; and the king, to break off the contest, went to the house, and dissolved the parliament, with a fixed resoluti-

on never to call another.

This vigorous measure was a blow that the parliament had never expected; and nothing but the necessity of the times could have justified the king's manner of proceeding. From that moment, which ended the parliamentary commotions, Charles seemed to rule with despotic power; and he was resolved to leave the succession to his brother, but clogged with all the faults and missortunes of his own administration. His temper, which had always been easy and merciful, now became arbitrary, and even cruel; he entertained spies and informers round the throne, and imprisoned all such as he thought most daring in their designs.

He resolved to humble the presbyterians; these were divested of their employments and their places; and their offices given to such as held with

the court, and approved the doctrine of non-refiftance. The clergy began to testify their zeal and their principles by their writings and their sermons; but though among these, the partizansof the king were the most numerous, those of the opposite faction were the most enterprising. The king openly estimated the cause of the former; and thus placing himself at the head of a faction, he deprived the city of London, which had long headed the popular party, of their charter. It was not till after an abject submission that he restored it to them, having previously subjected the election of their magistrates to his immediate authority.

gistrates to his immediate authority.

Terrors also were not wanting to

Terrors also were not wanting to confirm this new species of monarchy. Fitzharris was brought to his trial before a jury, and condemned, and executed. The whole gang of spies, witnesses, informers, suborners, which had long been encouraged and supported by the leading patriots, finding now that the king was entirely master, they turned short upon their ancient drivers, and offered their evidence against those who had first put them in motion. The king's ministers, with an horid satisfaction, gave them countenance and encouragement; so that soon the same cruelties, and the same injustice, was practised against presbyterian schemes, that had been employed against catholic treasons.

The first person that sell under the displeasure of the ministry, was one Stephen College, a London joiner, who had become so noted for his zeal against popery, that he went by the name of the Protestant Joiner. He had attended the city members to Oxford, armed with sword and pistol; he had sometimes been heard to speak irreverently of the king, and was now presented by the grand jury of London as guilty of sedition. The sheriffs of London were in strong opposition to the court:

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court; and the grand jury, named by them, rejected the bill against College. However the court were not to be foiled fo; they fent the prisoner to Oxford, where the treason was said to have been committed, and there tried before a partial judge, and a packed jury. He was accused by Dugdale, Turberville, and others, who had already given evidence against the catholics; and the nation faw themselves reduced to a ridiculous dilemma upon their testimony. The jury, who were royalists, could not accept their evidence, as they believed them to be abandoned liars, nor yet could they reject it, as they were taught by their opponents to think them sufficient evidence for conviction. College defended himfelf with great presence of mind, and invalidated all their testimonies. But all was in vain. The jury, after half an hour's deliberation, brought him in guilty, and the spectators testified their inhuman pleasure, with a shout of applause. He bore his fate with unshaken fortitude; and at the place of execution denied the crime for which he had been condemned.

But higher vengeance was demanded by the king, whose refentment was chiefly levelled against the earl of Shaftesbury, and not without reason. No fums were spared to feek for evidence, and even to suborn witnesses against this intriguing and formidable man. A bill of indictment being prefented to the grand jury, witnesses were examined, who fwore to fuch incredible circumftances, as must have invalidated their testimony, even if they had not been branded as perjured villains. Among his papers, indeed, a draught of an affociation was found, which might have been construed into treason; but it was not in the earl's hand writing. nor could his adversaries prove that he had ever communicated this scheme to any body, or fignified his approbation of any such project. The sheriffs had fummoned a jury, whose principles coincided

with those of the earl, and that probably, more than any want of proof, procured his safety.

The power of the crown by this time A.D. became irrefiftible, the city of London 1683. having been deprived of their charter, which was restored only upon terms of submission, and the giving up the nomination of their own magistrates was so mortifying a circumstance, that all the other corporations in England foon began to fear the fame treatment, and were successively induced to furrender their charters into the hands of the king. Confiderable furns were exacted for restoring these charters; and all the offices of power and profit were left at the disposal of the crown. Refiltance now, however justifiable, could not be fafe; and all prudent men faw no other expedient, but peaceably submitting to the present grievances. But there was a party in England that still cherished their former ideas of freedom, and were refolved to hazard every danger in its defence.

This, like all other combinations, was made up of men, some guided by principle to the subversion of the present despotic power, some by interest, and still many more by revenge. Some time before, in the year 1681, the king had been feized with a fit of fickness at Windsor, which gave a great alarm to the public. Shaftesbury had even then attempted to exclude the duke of York from the fuccession, and united with the duke of Monmouth, lord Ruffel, and lord Gray, in case of the king's death, they conspired to me in arms, and vindicate their opinions by the fword. Shaftesbury's imprisonment and trial for some time put a stop to these designs; but they soon revived with his release. Monmouth engaged the earl of Macclesfield, lord Brandon, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, and other gentlemen in Cheshire. Lord Ruffel

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Ruffel fixed a correspondence with Sir William Courtney, Sir Francis Rowles, and Sir Francis Drake, who promised to raise the West. Shaftesbury, with one Ferguson, an independent clergyman, and a restless plotter, managed the city, upon which the confederates chiefly relied. It was now that this turbulent man found his schemes most likely to take effect. After the disappointment and destruction of an hundred plots, he at last began to be fure of this. But this scheme, like all the former, was disappointed. The caution of lord Ruffel, who induced the duke of Monmouth to put off the enterprize, faved the kingdom from the horrors of a civil war; while Shaftefbury was fo struck with a sense of his impending danger that he left his house, and, lurking about the city, attempted, but in vain, to drive the Londoners into open infurrection. At last, enraged at the numberless cautions and delays which clogged and defeated his projects, he threatened to begin with his friends alone. However after a long struggle between fear and rage, he abandoned all hopes of fuccess, and fled out of the kingdom to Amsterdam, where he ended his turbulent life foon after, without being pitied by his friends, or feared by his enemies.

The loss of Shaftesbury, though it retarded the views of the conspirators, did not suppress them. A council of six was erected, consisting of Monmouth, Russel, Essex, Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson to the great man of that name. These corresponded with Argyle and the malcontents in Scotland, and resolved to prosecute the scheme of the insurrection, though they widely differed in principles from each other. Monmouth aspired at the crown; Russel and Hampden proposed to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and redress the griev-

ances of the nation; Sidney was for restoring the republic, and Essex joined in the same wish. Lord Howard was an abandoned man, who, having no principles, sought to embroil the nation, to gratify his private interest in the confusion.

Such were the leaders of this conspiracy, and fuch their motives. But there was also a set of subordinate conspirators, who frequently met together, and carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth and his council. Among these men was colonel Rumsey, an old republican officer, together with lieutenant-colonel Walcot of the same stamp, Goodenough, under-sheriff of London, a zealous and noted party man, Ferguson, an independent minister, and several attornies, merchants, and tradesmen of London. But Rumfey and Ferguson were the only persons that had access to the great leaders of the conspiracy. These men in their meetings embraced the most desperate They proposed to affassinate the king resolutions. in his way to Newmarket; Rumbal, one of the party, possessed a farm upon that road called the Rye-house, and from thence the conspiracy was denominated the Rye-house Plot. They deliberated upon a scheme of stopping the king's coach by overturning a cart on the high-way at this place, and shooting him through the hedges. The house in which the king lived at Newmarket took fire accidentally, and he was obliged to leave New-market eight days fooner than was expected, to which circumstance his safety was ascribed.

Among the conspirators was one Keiling, who finding himself in danger of a prosecution for arresting the lord-mayor of London, resolved to earn his pardon by discovering this plot to the ministry. Colonel Rumsey, and West, a lawyer, no sooner understood

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understood that this man had informed against them, than they agreed to save their lives by turning king's evidence, and they surrendered themselves accordingly. Sheppard, another conspirator, being apprehended, confessed all he knew, and general orders were soon issued out for apprehending the rest of the leaders of the conspiracy. Monmouth absconded; Russel was sent to the Tower; Grey escaped; Howard was taken concealed in a chimney; Essex, Sidney, and Hampden, were soon after arrested, and had the mortification to find lord Howard an evidence against them.

Walcot was first brought to trial and condemned. together with Hone and Rouse, two affociates in the conspiracy, upon the evidence of Rumsey, West, and Sheppard. They died penitent, acknowledging the justice of the sentence by which they were executed. A much greater facrifice was shortly after to follow. This was the lord Russel, son of the earl of Bedford, a nobleman of numberless good qualities, and led into this conspiracy from a conviction of the duke of York's intentions to restore popery. He was liberal. popular, humane, and brave. All his virtues were fo many crimes in the present suspicious difposition of the court. The chief evidence against him was lord Howard, a man of very bad character, one of the conspirators, who was now contented to take life upon fuch terms, and to accept of infamous fafety. This witness swore that Russel was engaged in the design of an insurrection; but he acquitted him, as did also Rumsey and West, of being privy to the affassination. His own candour would not allow him to deny the defign in which he really was concerned; but his own contession was not sufficient to convict him. To the fact which principally aimed at his life

there was but one witness, and the law required two; this was over-ruled; for justice, during this whole reign, was too weak for the prevailing The jury, who were zealous royalifts. after a short deliberation brought the prisoner in guilty. After his condemnation the king was strongly folicited in his favour. Even money, to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds, was offered to the dutchess of Portsmouth, by the old earl of Bedford, lord Ruffel's father. The king was inexorable. He dreaded the principles and popularity of this nobleman, and refented his former activity in promoting the bill of exclusion. Lord Cavendish, the intimate friend of Russel. offered to effect his escape by exchanging apparel with him, and remaining a prisoner in his room. The duke of Monmouth fent a message to him, offering to furrender himself, if he thought that step would contribute to his safety. Lord Rusfel generously rejected both these expedients, and refigned himself to his fate with admirable fortitude. His confort, the daughter and heires of the earl of Southampton, finding that all supplications were vain, took leave of her husband without shedding a tear; while, as he parted from her, he turned to those about him, " Now, " faid he. " the bitterness of death is over." A little before the sheriffs conducted him to the scaffold, he wound up his watch. "I have now done with time, faid he, and must henceforth think " of eternity." The scaffold for his execution was erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields; he laid his head on the block without the least change of countenance, and at two strokes it was severed ' from his body.

The celebrated Algernon Sidney, fon to the earl of Leicester, was next brought to his trial. He had been formerly engaged in the parliamentary

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army against the late king, and was even named on the high court of justice that tried him, but had not taken his feat among the judges. He had ever opposed Cromwell's usurpation, and went into voluntary banishment upon the restoration. His affairs, however, requiring his return, he applied to the king for a pardon, and obtained his request. But all his hopes and all his reasonings were formed upon republican principles. For his adored republic he had written and fought, and went into banishment, and ventured to return. It may eafily be conceived how obnoxious a man of fuch principles was to a court that now was not even content with limitations to its power. They went fo far as to take illegal methods to procure his condemnation. The only witness that deposed against Sidney was lord Howard, and the law required two. In order, therefore, to make out a fecond witness, they had recourse to a very extraordinary expedient. In ranfacking his closet, fome discourses on government were found in his own hand-writing, containing principles favourable to liberty, and in themselves no way subversive of a limited government. By overstraining some of these they were construed into treason. It was in vain he alledged that papers were no evidence; that it could not be proved they were written by him; that, if proved, the papers themselves contained nothing criminal. His defence was overruled; the violent and inhuman Jefferies, who was now chief-justice, easily prevailed on a partial jury to bring him in guilty, and his execution followed foon after. One can scarce contemplate the transactions of this reign without horror. Such a picture of factious guilt on each fide, a court at once immerfed in fenfuality and blood, a people armed against each other with the most deadly animofity, and no fingle party to be found with ienie

fense enough to stem the general torrent of ran-

cour and factious suspicion.

Hampden was tried foon after; and as there was nothing to affect his life, he was fined forty thousand pounds. Holloway, a merchant of Bristol, who had fled to the West-Indies, was brought over, condemned, and executed. Sir Thomas Armstrong also, who had fled to Holland, was brought over, and shared the same sate. Lord Essex, who had been imprisoned in the Tower, was found in an apartment with his throat cut; but whether he was guilty of suicide, or whether the bigotry of the times might not have induced some assassing to commit the crime, cannot now be known.

This was the last blood that was shed for an imputation of plots or conspiraces, which continued during the greatest part of this reign. Nevertheless the cruelty, and the gloomy suspicion of the duke of York, who, fince the diffolution of the last parliament, daily came into power, was dread-Titus Oates was fined an hunful to the nation. dred thousand pounds, for calling him a popish traitor, and he was imprisoned till he could pay it, which he was utterly incapable of. A like illegal fentence was passed upon Dutton Colt for the fame offence. Sir Samuel Barnardiston was fined ten thousand pounds, for having, in some private letters, reflected on the government. Of all those who were concerned in the late conspiracy, scarce one escaped the severity of the court, except the duke of Monmouth, and he was the most culpable of any.

At this period, the government of Charles was as absolute as that of any monarch in Europe; but to please his subjects by an act of popularity, he judged it proper to marry the lady Anne, his niece, to prince George, brother to the king of Denmark.

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CHARLES II.

This was the last transaction of this Denmark. extraordinary reign. The king was feized with a fudden fit, which refembled an apoplexy; and though he was recovered from it by bleeding, yet he languished only for a few days, and then expired, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twentyfifth of his reign. During his illness, some clergymen of the church of England attended him, to whom he discovered a total indifference. Catholic priefts were brought to his bed-fide, and from their hands he received the rites of their communion. Two papers were found in his closet, containing arguments in favour of that persuasion, These were soon after published by James his fuccessor, by which he greatly injured his own popularity, and his brother's memory.

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